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THE HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE:

AND
A VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, FROM THE RISE
OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF PARIS, IN 1763.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,
BY WILLIAM RUSSELL, L. L. D.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION, CAREFULLY CORRECTED.

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THE HISTORY
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MODERN EUROPE
FROM THE
FIFTEENTH
CENTURY
TO THE
PRESENT
BY
J. H. MURPHY
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THE HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE
PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

LETTER XXVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH
OF LEWIS XIV. IN 1715, TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR,
CHARLES VI. IN 1740.

THE period on which we are now entering is happily distinguished by few great events, for great events are generally connected with great calamities. The war, that had so long ravished the finest part of Europe, had ceased at the peace of Utrecht, and discord ^{A. D. 1715.} seemed to have left the earth with the restless spirit of Lewis XIV. but a certain degree of agitation remained, like the rolling of the waves after a storm.

The progress of the rebellion in Great-Britain, against the authority of George I. and with a view of restoring the family of Stuart, I have already had occasion to trace. The
speedy

speedy and fortunate suppression of that rebellion, as must ever be the case in all free governments, increased the influence of the crown. The whig-ministry, no longer under any apprehensions from the encroachment of arbitrary power, and willing utterly to crush their political enemies, without foreseeing the stab they were giving to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the triennial act (lately thought essential, by their own party, to the freedom of the English constitution,) and for *extending the duration of parliaments* to the term of SEVEN YEARS. This bill, though warmly opposed by the tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular side of all questions) and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houses, was carried by a great majority: A. D. 1716. and the king, by the uniform support of the whigs, who in their love of power forgot their republican maxims, found himself firmly seated on the British throne.

The authority of the duke of Orleans, regent of France during the minority of Lewis XV. was yet less perfectly established. He had a powerful faction to struggle with: and therefore judged it prudent to strengthen himself by alliances. But it will be proper, my dear Philip, before I enter into the particulars of those alliances, to turn your eye, for a moment, toward another quarter of Europe.

The Turks, who are far from being profound politicians, happily remained quiet while the christian princes were most deeply embroiled among themselves; but no sooner was the general peace concluded, than Achmet III. commenced hostilities against the Venetians, and made himself master of the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus. The emperor Charles VI. as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which this territory had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound in honour, to declare war against the Turks for infringing it:—and the pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged his Imperial majesty to stand
forth

forth in defence of Christendom. Charles accordingly assembled a powerful army, under the celebrated prince Eugene; who passed the Danube, and defeated the grand vizier Ali at Peterwaraden. The year following, the same general undertook the siege of Belgrade. A. D. 1717. The Turks advanced to its relief, and besieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent; but military skill, and disciplined valour, triumphed over numbers and savage ferocity. He sallied out of his entrenchments; and, falling suddenly upon the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and took their cannon, baggage, and every thing belonging to their camp. Belgrade surrendered immediately after.

The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Passarowitz, by which the porte ceded to the emperor, Belgrade and all the bannat of Temeswar. A. D. 1718. But the Venetians, on whose account the war had been undertaken, did not recover their possessions in Greece: the Morea was left, and still remains in the hands of the Turks.

What time the arms of the emperor were employed against the infidels, a new enemy was rising up against him in Christendom, and even from the bosom of the catholic church! Philip V. of Spain, having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, with all the territories belonging to them. This marriage, which not a little alarmed the emperor, was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of Alberoni, an Italian priest, and a native of Placentia, who soon rose to the highest favour at the court of Madrid, and was honoured by the pope with a cardinal's hat. The princess Ursini, who had long directed all things in Spain, and who, it is said, might have shared the throne, had she not hoped to govern more absolutely and less invidiously, by means of another, was now ordered to quit the kingdom. The new queen, who was a woman of spirit, governed alone her too easy husband,

husband, and Alberoni governed the queen, by flattering her ambition'.

The bold, rather than correct, or illuminated genius of that minister, made him form the most extraordinary projects. The principal as well as most rational of these, though in itself sufficiently romantic, was to recover all the territories that Spain had ceded at the peace of Utrecht, but more especially her Italian dominions; this idea seems to have occupied the mind of Alberoni when he negotiated the marriage of Philip V. with the princess of Parma, whose interest in Italy was great, and for whose offspring those speculative conquests were designed, as all hopes of their succeeding to the Spanish monarchy were cut off by the children of the first bed. In order to enable him to execute that ambitious project, which was highly flattering to the queen, he laboured indefatigably, and with no small degree of success, to put the Spanish finances on a respectable footing, while he new-modelled and greatly augmented both the army and navy.

Alberoni, however, did not rely merely on the resources of Spain for the execution of so great an undertaking. He extended his negotiations and intrigues to every court in Europe. He endeavoured to engage the Turks, notwithstanding their losses, to continue the war against the emperor, whom he meant to strip of his Italian conquests. He persuaded Philip V. that his renunciation was invalid, and that he had still a better right than the duke of Orleans, not only to the crown of France, in case of the death of Lewis XV. without male issue, but also to the regency during the minority of that prince. In hopes of bringing about this important revolution, and becoming prime minister of both France and Spain, he accordingly inflamed the French malcontents. He also encouraged the Scottish jacobites, with whom he held a

secret correspondence; and he had formed a scheme, in conjunction with the duke of Ormond, the baron de Goertz, and Charles XII. of Sweden, who thirsted after revenge on the house of Hanover, of acquiring a new and powerful ally to his master, by placing the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain. But all these dazzling projects soon vanished into air, and this meteor of a moment disappeared with them.

We have already seen in what manner the intrigues of the baron de Goertz were defeated by the seizure of the papers of Gyllemburg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of England, and the subsequent death of Charles XII. Those of Alberoni were defeated in like manner, by the seizure of the papers of prince Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France. The project of prince Cellamar and his confederates was, to land a body of Spanish troops in Brittany, in order to favour the assembling the malecontents of Poitou; to seize the person of the duke of Orleans, and oblige him to resign the regency to Philip V. On the discovery of this plot, cardinal Polignac, one of the principal conspirators, was confined to his abbey; the duke and duchess of Maine were taken into custody; the prince de Dombes, and count d'Eu, were ordered to retire from court; the Spanish ambassador was conducted to the frontiers; five gentlemen of Brittany were executed, and the duke of Orleans found his authority henceforth more firmly established².

The formerly precarious state of that authority, and the dangerous intrigues of Alberoni, had induced the regent of France, in 1716, to enter into a league with England and Holland; and the violent ambition of the court of Spain, which seemed to know no bounds, now disposed those three powers in conjunction with the emperor, to form the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, as a dyke against its fury. After the articles which provided for the maintaining of the peace of Utrecht, the princi-

2. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

pal stipulations in that treaty were, that the duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title; and that the emperor should confer on don Carlos, eldest son of the young queen of Spain, the investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue.

This formidable alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni. The article that regarded the eventual succession of don Carlos was rejected with scorn by the Spanish court which had already taken possession of Sardinia, under pretence of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, and of great part of the island of Sicily. The consequence of this obstinacy, and of these unprovoked hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England.

But, before that measure was embraced, every method had been tried, though ineffectually, to adjust matters by negotiation: Alberoni sought only to gain time, by amusing the ministers of the two crowns. He did not, however, succeed in his scheme. George I. even while he negotiated, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under sir George Byng, who, being vested with very ample powers, and finding every proposal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a cessation of arms treated with disdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate instructions. He accordingly engaged the Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily, and took or destroyed twenty-one ships out

of twenty-seven, fourteen of which were of the
AUG. 11. line: yet could he not prevent the Spanish troops commanded by the marquis de Leda, from making themselves masters of the citadel of Messina, the town having surrendered before his arrival. But, by his activity in transporting German troops into Sicily, both the town

and citadel were soon recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the
A. D. 1719. island. The recovery of Sicily was followed by the surrender of Sardinia.

In the meantime the duke of Berwick conducted a French army toward the frontiers of Spain, and made himself master of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great-Britain; and the duke of Berwick, having made preparations for opening the next campaign with the siege of Roses and Pampeluna, Philip V. acceded to the terms prescribed by the quadruple alliance, and Alberoni was disgraced³. A. D. 1720.

While this Italian priest, the son of a peasant, and formerly the curate of a petty village near Parma, was ambitiously attempting to change the political state of Europe, a great and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations, and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. Professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, Law had been obliged to quit his native country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent; and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the French finances. To remedy that evil, appeared a task worthy of his daring genius:—and he flattered himself that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper induced him to adopt the wildest projects.

Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it. The introduction of paper-credit could alone effect this amazing revolution, and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was soon declared royal, and united with the Mississippi or West-India company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It under-

3. Id. *ibid.*

took the management of the trade to the coast of Africa: it also obtained the privileges of the old East-India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary rise deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but supposed fabulous mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent out to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company: The *Mississippi Scheme* became the grand object and the ultimate end of all pursuits⁴. Even Law himself

4. The adventurers were not satisfied with a bare association with the company, which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. The proprietors were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations: which, it was represented, would yield, in a few years, an hundred times the sum necessary to be laid out upon them. The richest and most intelligent men in the nation were the most forward in making these purchases; and such as could not afford to become purchasers, solicited the management

himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the royal bank by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wanting to convert his notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated and obliged to fly from a country he had beggared without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown⁵. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Upward of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions of livres, to be paid in specie⁶.

management of plantations, or even to be employed in cultivating them! During this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships, and landed on the burning sands of the Biloxi, a district in West-Florida, between Pensacola and the mouth of the Mississippi, where a French settlement had been inconsiderately formed, and where these unhappy men perished in thousands, of want and vexation; the miserable victims of a political imposture, and of their own blind avidity. Raynal *Hist. Philos. et Politique*, liv. xvi.

5. Voltaire, Raynal, and other French authors.

6. Voltaire.

Thus

Thus ended, in France, the famous Mississippi scheme; so ruinous to the fortune of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its violence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury. The South-Sea scheme, evidently borrowed from that of Law, first excited the avidity of the nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the stocks, and the rise of the South-Sea company.

Nothing, my dear Philip, is so much talked of in London, or so little understood, as the national debt, the public funds, and the stocks: I shall, therefore, endeavour to give you a general idea of them. The national debt is the residue of those immense sums which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not hitherto found it convenient to pay off. The public funds consist of certain ideal aggregations, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the sinking fund, as it was originally intended to be applied toward the reduction, or sinking of the national debt. The stocks are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure.

sure, and which rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the stocks; which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity. For as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, the stocks are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless when attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid without any farther reduction, must raise the stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity. Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, beside the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlements on the South-Sea, an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed, England would obtain either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the prodigious successes of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the *assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great-Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V. as well as the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto-Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was vested exclusively in the SOUTH-SEA COMPANY. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements: and the company was farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South-Sea, vessels of four hundred tons burden, in order to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce

produce of its sales, in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export⁷.

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South-Sea company, under cover of the importation which they were authorised to make by the ship sent annually to Porto-Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of a vessel of five hundred tons burden, as stipulated by the treaty, they usually employed one of a thousand tons, exclusive of water and provisions: she was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants; and, mooring in some neighbouring creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been previously sold⁸.

By these various advantages, the profits of the South-Sea company became excessively great, and the public supposed them yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprize, sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous SOUTH-SEA SCHEME. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South-Sea company should become the sole public creditor.

A scheme so plausible and so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of an act of parliament. The purport of this act was, that the South-Sea company should be authorised to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five *per cent.* and that, after the expiration of six years, the interest should be reduced to four *per cent.* and the capital be redeemable by parlia-

7. Anderon's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

8. Id. ib. See also Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

ment⁹. But as the directors could not be supposed possessed of money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening books of subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to *exchange the security of the crown* for that of the *South-Sea Company*, with the *emoluments* which might result from their *commerce*¹⁰.

While this affair was in agitation, the stock of the South-Sea company rose from one hundred and thirty, or thirty pounds on the hundred above its primary value, to near four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the first subscribers; and in order to raise it still higher, Blount, the projector of the scheme, circulated a report, on the passing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged for some places in Peru, by the cession of which the British trade to the South-Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription-books were no sooner opened, than persons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and sexes, crowded to the South-Sea house, eager to become proprietors of the stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation was carried so far, that stock sold, at last, for ten times its original price. New projectors started up every day, to avail themselves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch copper company, the York building company, and many others, were formed.

9. See the printed act.

10. These emoluments, as we have already seen, were very great; yet so intelligent a writer as Dr. Smollett has said, "That in the scheme of Law there was *something substantial*: an *exclusive trade* to *Louisiana* promised *some advantage*; but the South-Sea scheme promised *no commercial advantage of any consequence*." (*Hist. of Eng.* vol. x.) So liable are men of the greatest talents to be the dupes of ignorance or prejudice!

No interested project was now so absurd, as not to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South-Sea scheme continued to be the great object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the *bubble* began to *burst*. It was discovered, that such as were thought to be in the secret, had disposed of all their stock, while the tide was at its height. An universal alarm was spread. Every one wanted to sell, and nobody to buy, except at a very reduced price. The South-Sea stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen of this bewitching scheme, but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of despair!—The timely interposition and steady wisdom of parliament only could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, DECEMBER. and proceedings relative to the execution of the South-Sea act; and this committee discovered, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislachie, chancellor of the exchequer, who had shared A. D. 1721. largely in the stock, was expelled the house of commons, and committed to the tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of “the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and having combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit.” Mr. secretary Craggs, and his father, also great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved

resolved, nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, " was a
" notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, treasurer to
" the South-Sea company, and some of the directors, in
" carrying on their scandalous practices: and, therefore,
" that all the estate of which he was possessed at the time
" of his death, should be applied toward the relief of
" the unhappy sufferers by the South-Sea scheme".
The estates of the directors were also confiscated by act
of parliament, and directed to be applied to the same pur-
pose, after a certain allowance was deducted for each di-
rector, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons having thus punished the chief promo-
ters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their
ill-got wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible,
the mischiefs it had occasioned. They accordingly pre-
pared a bill for that purpose. On the inquiries relative to
the framing of this bill, it appeared, that the whole capital
stock of the South-Sea company, at the end of the year
1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred
thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the propri-
etors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred
thousand pounds; that the remaining capital stock belong-
ing to the company in their corporate capacity, being the
profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-
jobbing scheme. Out of this it was enacted, that seven
millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was
likewise enacted, that several additions should be made
to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by
the company in their own right; and that, after such dis-
tributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided
among the proprietors. By these wise and equitable regu-
lations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the
nation gradually subsided.

The discontents and disorders occasioned by the
South-Sea scheme encouraged the English jacobites to

think of making a new attempt to change the line of succession. But the same want of concert, secrecy, and success, attended this, as every other plan for the restoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George I. who had spies in every popish court, and who had, by alliances, made almost every European potentate his friend, was informed by the regent of France of the conspiracy hatching against his government. In consequence of this infor-

mation, Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle-Temple, was taken into custody, condemned, and executed, for having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, lord North and Grey, with many other suspected persons of less note, were committed to the Tower. But they were all acquitted for want of evidence, except the bishop of Rochester, who was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and banished the kingdom for life¹².

As Dr. Atterbury was a man of distinguished talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the tory party, his cause was warmly pleaded in the house of peers. Lord Bathurst, turning towards the bench of bishops, who had discovered peculiar animosity against the prisoner, said he could hardly account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which some men pursued the learned and ingenious prelate, unless they were infatuated with the superstition of certain savages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the spoils, but the abilities of any great man whom they destroy¹³. When the bishop of Rochester arrived at Calais, he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and had the spirit to observe, smiling, that they were *exchanged*!

Soon after this conspiracy was defeated, died Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France, one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipated men of his time. As a prince, he possessed great talents for

12. Tindal. Smollett.

13. *Parl. Debates*, 1722.

government,

government, which he did not fail to exert during his administration. Notwithstanding his precarious situation, he governed France with more absolute authority than any minister since cardinal Richelieu, and took many important steps for the benefit of the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the necessity of making the oppressed people forget their miseries in a perpetual round of amusements, introduced an universal corruption of manners, which spread itself even to foreign nations⁴. He was succeeded in the administration, but not in the regency, the king being come of age, by the duke of Bourbon. This minister was soon supplanted by cardinal Fleury, a man of a mild and pacific disposition, who had been preceptor to Lewis XV. and who, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon him the cares of government.

Fortunately for the happiness of mankind, sir Robert Walpole, who began about the same time to acquire an ascendant in the councils of Great-Britain, and who soon after became prime minister, possessed a disposition no less pacific than that of Fleury. In consequence of this coinciding mildness of temper, the repose of Europe was continued, with little interruption for almost twenty years. Meanwhile several treaties were negociated between its different kingdoms and states, for securing more effectually, as was pretended, the objects of the quadruple alliance, and the balance of power. One of these treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spanish monarch, excited the jealousy of George I. ^{A. D. 1724.} who was under apprehensions for the safety of his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the

14. The death of the duke of Orleans was distinguished by a very singular circumstance. Having neglected his usual time of bleeding, he was seized with an apoplexy, in the arms of the duchess de Talaris, and instantly expired. Augustus II. king of Poland, when informed of this circumstance, wantonly exclaimed, in the words of scripture, "O may I die the death of this just man!" alluding to his paying at once the debt of nature and the debt of love. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

Pretender, many of whose adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch, as it granted to the subjects of the house of Austria greater advantages, in their trade with Spain, than those enjoyed by any other nation¹⁵: and it guaranteed a new East-India company, lately established at Ostend, which France, England, and Holland, were equally desirous of suppressing.

In order to counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king
A. D. 1726. of Great-Britain, however, fitted out three stout squadrons, one of which he sent to the West-Indies, under admiral Hosier, who had orders to block up the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto-Bello, and to seize them, if they attempted to come out. In cruising off that unhealthy coast, where he was restrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, the greater part of his officers and men were
A. D. 1727. swept away by the diseases of the climate; his ships were ruined by the worms, and he himself is supposed to have died of a broken heart.

The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after brought about through the mediation of France. It was agreed, that the charter of the Ostend East-India company should be suspended for seven years; that the stipulations of the quadruple alliance, but particularly those relative to the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of

15. Count Konigseck, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Madrid, had procured these advantageous conditions for his master, Charles VI. by flattering the queen of Spain with a prospect of a match between her son, don Carlos, and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to all the extensive dominions of the house of Austria. *Mem. de Brandenbourg*, tom. ii.

Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, should be fulfilled; and that all differences should be adjusted by a congress. This congress, which was held at Soissons, produced the treaty of Seville, by which all grounds of dispute were finally removed.

During these negotiations died George I. a prudent and virtuous prince, whose attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made use of by the tories to render him odious to the English nation. He was succeeded by his son George II. whose accession made no alteration in the system of British politics. The administration was wisely continued in the hands of the whigs, the only true friends to the protestant succession, or to the principles of the revolution: and the same tory faction, which had so frequently attempted to thwart the measures, and overturn the throne of the first George, continued their violent opposition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction, namely, sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, being men of great abilities, were soon joined by certain disgusted courtiers, of equal, if not superior talents, who hoped, by such a coalition, to humble their successful rivals, and get into their own hands the highest employments of the state. Mr. Pulteney, the finest speaker of the house of commons, and lately a member of administration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret and the earl of Chesterfield, the most distinguished orators in the house of peers, afterwards joined the phalanx.

This powerful body, by continually opposing the measures of government, and passionately railing against continental connections, soon acquired great popularity, and at last became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or country party, as the members in the opposition affected to call themselves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midst of the most profound peace, and the highest national prosperity; and a small standing army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was represented as an engine of despotism. The liberties of the people were be-
lieved

lieved by many to be in danger. But those liberties, or at least the freedom of the constitution, has suffered more from a pernicious system of domestic policy, which that violent opposition at first made necessary, than from the so much dreaded military establishment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the machine rendered almost stationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown must be employed, in order to accelerate their motion. The force of opposition must be broken: its ablest members must be drawn over to the side of royalty, by the emoluments of office, or the splendour of titles; by the highest honours and employments of the state. If this cannot be effected, if nothing less will content their pride than an entirely new arrangement of the servants of the crown, a measure always disagreeable to a sovereign, and often dangerous, as it may possibly be attended with the loss of his throne:—if the heads of opposition cannot be taught silence, or induced to change sides, without a total change of administration, the king must either resign his minister, or that minister must secure a majority in the national assembly by *other means*¹⁶. No minister ever understood these means better than sir Robert Walpole. Possessed of great abilities, and utterly destitute of principle, he made no scruple of employing the money voted by parliament, in order to corrupt its members. Having discovered that almost every man had his price, he bought many; and to gain more, he let loose the wealth of the treasury at elections¹⁷. The fountain of liberty was poisoned in its source.

16. Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good minister must always be able to command such a majority, merely by the rectitude of his measures; but experience has evinced, that in factious times, all the weight of government is often necessary to carry even the best measures.

17. "To destroy British liberty," says lord Bolingbroke, "with an army of Britons, is not a measure so sure of success as some people may believe. To corrupt the parliament is a slower, but a more effectual method." *Dissert. on Parties*, letter x.

This

This, my dear Philip, is an evil, interwoven with the very frame of our mixed government, and which renders it, in many respects, inferior to a mere monarchy, regulated by laws, where corruption can never become a necessary engine of state. To say, that it is absolutely necessary, in our government, would perhaps be going too far; but experience proves, that it has generally been thought so, since the revolution, when the powers of the crown were abridged. The opportunity which able and ambitious men have, by the freedom of debate in parliament, and which they have seldom failed to exercise, of obstructing our public measures, renders the *influence* of the crown in some degree necessary: and that is but a more refined species of *corruption*, or a milder name for the same thing.

Our patriotic ancestors, who so gloriously struggled for the abolition of the more dangerous parts of the prerogative, certainly did not foresee the weight of this enslaving influence, which the entire collecting and management of an immense public revenue has thrown into the scale of government, by giving rise to such a multitude of officers, created by, and removeable at, the royal pleasure; and by the frequent opportunities of conferring particular obligations, by preference, in loans, lottery-tickets, contracts and other money transactions; an influence too great for human virtue to withstand, and which has left us little more than the shadow of a free constitution¹⁸. The revolution was

18. "Nothing," as lord Bolingbroke very justly remarks, "can destroy the constitution of Britain but the people of Britain, and whenever the people of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by corruption (for they are no longer in danger of being awed by prerogative) to chuse persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under an influence arising from private interest...dependents upon a court, and the creatures of a minister; or others, who bring no recommendation, but that which they carry in their purses; then will that trite proverbial speech be verified in our case, that *the corruption of the best things are the worst*: for then will that very change in the state of property and power, which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it." *Dissert. on Parties*, Let. xvii.

an over-hasty measure: it guarded only against the direct encroachments of the crown. The subsequent provisions were few: and the whigs, formerly so jealous of liberty, were afterward so fully employed, one while in combating their political enemies, in order to preserve the parliamentary settlement of the crown, and at another in opposing the violent faction occasioned, by the Hanoverian succession, which it had been their great object to bring about, that they had no leisure to attend to the new bias of the constitution. In their anxiety for the security of that succession, stimulated by the lust of power, they shamefully neglected the independency of parliament, as well as the freedom of elections, in which it has its origin, till the malady was too inveterate to admit of a speedy cure. The septennial bill was a cruel stab to liberty.

Let us not, however, despair. Some late laws relative to elections, and for excluding from the house of commons contractors and money-jobbers, will greatly contribute to restore, if not to perfect the British constitution. But the friends of monarchy will perhaps question, whether an independent parliament would be a *public good* in this *licentious* kingdom? And that question is not without its difficulties. Yet we know that *corruption* is a *public evil*; that it is the parent of *licentiousness*, and of every enslaving vice. And as the reigning family is now fully established on the throne, and without a competitor, government happily can have no occasion for *undue* influence, in order to carry any wholesome measure. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on this subject with the memorable words of Lord Bolingbroke: “The *integrity of parliament* is a kind of *PAL-LADIUM*, a tutelary goddess, who protects our state¹⁹.”—and if ever she is finally removed, we must bid adieu to all the blessings of a free people. The forms of our constitution, and the names of its different branches may remain, but we shall not be, on that account, the less slaves.

In consequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna, Don Carlos took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, on ^{A. D. 1731.} the succession becoming vacant, the emperor withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given so much umbrage to France, England, and Holland, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers, in the treaty of Seville, should guarantee the PRAGMATIC SANCTION, or domestic law; by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were secured to the heirs female of the emperor Charles VI. in case he should die without male issue. The proposal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed, till the death of Augustus II. king of Poland²⁰.

On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, in ^{A. D. 1731.} 1704, and whom Peter the Great had dethroned, now become father-in-law to Lewis XV. was a second time chosen king. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election. The elector

20. That prince, when surprised by death, was occupied with a design of rendering the crown of Poland hereditary in his family. With this view he had planned a division of the Polish dominions, hoping thereby to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours. The project, however, he knew to be impracticable, without the concurrence of the king of Prussia. He, therefore, desired Frederic II. to send him the mareschal de Grumkou, that he might open his mind to him. Augustus wanted to pump Grumkou, and Grumkou was no less anxious to discover the sentiments of the king. Mutually actuated by this motive, they contrived to make each other drunk; and that drunken bout was followed by the king of Poland's death, and a fit of sickness in Grumkou, of which he never got the better. (*Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.) Augustus II. was endowed with extraordinary bodily strength, a sound understanding, a social disposition, and many princely accomplishments. It was this Augustus, who, in a fit of gallantry, twisted a horse-shoe in the presence of a fine woman, in order to give her some idea of his personal powers; and, at the same time, presented her a purse of gold, to make her sensible of his generosity. Love perhaps never spoke a more eloquent language.

of Saxony, son of the late king of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was raised to the throne, under the name of Augustus III. and Stanislaus, as formerly, was forced to abandon his crown.

Though the distance of his situation, and the pacific disposition of his minister, prevented the king of France from yielding effectual support to his father-in-law, a sense of his own dignity determined him to take revenge upon the emperor, for the insult he had suffered in the person of that unfortunate prince. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who also thought themselves aggrieved, and war was begun in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine, at the head of the French army, and reduced fort Kehl. He afterward invested Philipsburgh, in the face of the Imperial forces, while the count de Belleisle made himself master of Traerbach. The duke of Berwick was killed by a cannon-ball, in visiting the trenches²¹; but Philipsburgh was taken nevertheless. The marquis d'Asfeld, who succeeded to the command of the

21. The mareschal of Berwick is justly reputed one of the greatest of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup d'ail* quicker or more accurate; whether, in battle, to discover the blunders of an enemy, and make those decisive movements that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to observe and take advantage of positions, on which the success of the whole depends. His character in private life, though no less worthy of admiration, is less known. "It was impossible," says Montesquieu, "to behold him, and not to be in love with virtue, so evident was tranquillity and happiness in his soul. No man knew better how to avoid excess; or, if I may so express myself, to keep clear of the snares of virtue. He had a great fund of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not bear to be governed by them. No man ever followed more strictly those precepts of the Gospel which are most troublesome to men of the world; no man, in a word, ever practised religion so much, and talked of it so little. He never spoke ill of any one, nor bestowed any praise upon those whom he did not think deserving of it. In the works of Plutarch I have seen, at a distance, what great men were; in him I behold at a nearer view, what they are." *Sketch of an Historical Panegyric.*

French

French army, as the eldest lieutenant-general, continued the operations of the siege in sight of prince Eugene: and in spite of the efforts of that experienced general, and the overflowings of the Rhine, the place was forced to surrender.

The French and their allies were no less successful in Italy. The count de Montemar having gained a complete victory over the Imperialists, at Bitonto in Apulia, the Spaniards afterwards carried every thing before them; and in two campaigns, became masters of Naples and Sicily. Meanwhile the forces of France and Piedmont, under old marshal Villars and the king of Sardinia, took Milan and other important places. The mareschal de Coigny, who succeeded to the command of the French army on the death of Villars, defeated the Imperialists under the walls of Parma, after an obstinate battle, in which count de Merci, the Imperial general, was killed. The Imperialists were again worsted at Guastalla, where A.D. 1735. the prince of Wurtemberg was slain. In these two engagements the emperor lost above ten thousand men.

Discouraged by so many defeats, his Imperial majesty signified his desire for peace; and as peace was the sincere and constant wish of cardinal Fleury, a treaty for that end was soon concluded. By this treaty it was stipulated, That Stanislaus should renounce his pretensions to the throne of Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorraine, which he should enjoy during life, and which, after his death, should be reunited to the crown of France; that the duke of Lorraine should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, and that Lewis XV. should insure to him an annual revenue of three millions five hundred thousand livres, till the death of the grand-duke, John Gaston, the last prince of the house of Medicis; that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos king of the Two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia, as an indemnification for these two kingdoms; that he should cede to the king of Sardinia, who had some old pretensions to the whole

whole duchy of Milan, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and fiefs of Langes. And in consideration of these cessions, the king of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction²².

Scarce was this peace negotiated, when a new war broke out on the confines of Europe and Asia, in which A.D. 1736. the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the ravages of the Crim Tartars, as well as at the neglect of the Ottoman Porte to her repeated remonstrances on that subject, the empress of Russia resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Lasci, one of her generals, to attack Azoph, which he reduced; while the count de Munich, entering the Crimea with another army, forced the lines of Prekop, made himself master of the place itself, took Baniesary, and laid all Tartary waste with fire and sword. Next campaign Munich A.D. 1737. entered the Ukraine, and invested Oczakow, which was carried by assault, though defended by a garrison of three thousand Janizaries and seven thousand Bosniacs. A bomb having set fire to the powder magazine, it immediately blew up and communicated its contents to many of the houses. The Russian general seized this opportunity to storm the town; and the Turks unable to recover themselves from their consternation, or to fight on narrow ramparts contiguous to buildings all in flames, tamely suffered themselves to be cut to pieces²³.

The rapid successes of the Russians awaked the ambition of the court of Vienna, which was bound, by treaty, to assist that of Petersburg against the Porte. The emperor was made to believe, that if he should attack the Turks on the side of Hungary while the Russians continued to press them on the borders of the Black sea, the Ottoman empire might be finally subverted. Prophecies were even propagated that the period fatal to the Crescent was at last arrived²⁴.

22. Voltaire. Tindal. Smollett.

23. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

24. *Id. ibid.*

But these prophecies and the emperor's ambitious hopes proved equally illusory. The Turks turned their principal force towards Hungary. The Imperial generals were repeatedly defeated ; several important places were lost, and Belgrade was besieged ; when ^{A.D. 1739.} Charles VI. discouraged by his misfortunes, and resolving to put an end to a war from which he reaped nothing but disgrace, had recourse to the mediation of France.— M. de Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, accordingly repaired to the Turkish camp ; and the empress of Russia, though recently victorious at Chocrim, afraid of being deserted by her ally, and left to support alone the whole weight of the war, had also recourse to negotiation.

In consequence of this pacific disposition in the Christian allies, the Turks, so lately devoted to destruction, obtained an advantageous peace. By that treaty, the emperor ceded to the grand signior Belgrade, Sabats, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with Servia, and Austrian Walachia: and the contracting powers agreed, That the Danube and the Saave should, in future, be the boundaries of the two empires. The empress of Russia was left in possession of Azoph, but on condition that its fortifications should be demolished ; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Soon after this peace was signed, died the emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria, the disputed succe- ^{A.D. 1740.} sion of whose hereditary dominions kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. But before we enter upon that important subject, I must give you, my dear Philip, a short account of the maritime war already begun between Spain and Great-Britain ; and, in order to make the grounds of their quarrel distinctly understood, it will be necessary to continue our view of the progress of navigation, commerce and colonization.

LETTER

LETTER XXVII.

PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION, COMMERCE, AND COLONIZATION, FROM THE YEAR 1660, TO THE YEAR 1739, WHEN SPAIN AND GREAT-BRITAIN ENGAGED IN A MARITIME WAR, OCCASIONED BY CERTAIN COMMERCIAL DISPUTES—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THAT WAR—THE TAKING OF PORTO BELLO, THE SIEGE OF CARTHAGENA AND THE EXPEDITION OF COMMODORE ANSON TO THE SOUTH-SEA.

WE have seen, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the English and Dutch in possession of almost the whole trade of the universe. But the Dutch commerce received a severe wound from the English navigation act, passed by the commonwealth parliament, in 1651; and the subsequent wars between England and Holland, during the reign of Charles II. reduced still lower the trade of the United Provinces. Their trade to the East-Indies, however, continued to flourish, while that of England remained in a languishing condition till after the revolution. But this disadvantage on the part of England was amply compensated by the population, culture, and extension of her colonies in North-America and the West-Indies, which began to consume a vast quantity of European goods; and by a great and lucrative trade to Spain, Portugal, and Turkey¹. During no former or subsequent period, in a word, did England ever make such rapid progress in commerce and riches, as during that inglorious one, which followed the restoration, and terminated with the expulsion of the house of Stuart²; though she found at the same time, a

1. England sent annually to the Levant above twenty thousand pieces of woolen cloth.

2. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England was more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. (*Discourse on the Public Revenues*, part ii.) And we are told by sir Josiah Child, that in 1688, there were, on the 'change, more men worth ten thousand pounds, than there were in 1650, worth one thousand. *Brief Observations*, &c.

formidable rival in France, and a rival whose encroachments were not sufficiently repressed, by her pusillanimous and pensioned monarchs.

The great Colbert, who, as I have had occasion to notice, introduced order into the French finances in the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. who encouraged the arts, promoted manufactures, and may be said to have created the French navy; Colbert established an East-India company in 1664. This company, which founded its principal settlement at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, never attained to any high degree of prosperity, notwithstanding the countenance shewn it by government. At last, in consequence of Law's Mississippi scheme, it was united with the West-India company, which had been established in the same year with that trading to the East, and was also in a languishing condition. A separation afterward took place. The West-India company was judiciously abolished, as a pernicious monopoly³; and the French trade to the East-Indies became, for a time, of some importance, while that to the West-Indies flourished greatly from the moment it was made free.

But France is chiefly indebted for her wealth and commerce to the genius and industry of her numerous inhabitants, and to the produce of an extensive and naturally fertile territory. Her wines, her brandies, her raisins, her olives, have long been in request; and by her ingenious manufactures, established or encouraged by Colbert, her gold and silver stuffs, her tapestries, her carpets, her silks, her velvets, her laces, her linens, and her toys, she laid all Europe, and indeed the

3. Exclusive companies may sometimes be useful to nourish an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where they trade between different parts of the dominions of the same prince under the protection of his laws, and carried on by his own subjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, such companies must be equally absurd in their nature, and ruinous in their consequences to commerce.

whole world, under contribution for half a century. Colbert extended his attention also to the manufacture of wool; and the French, by fabricating lighter cloths, by employing more taste and fancy in the colours, and by the superior conveniency of the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, soon acquired the almost entire possession of the trade of Turkey, formerly so beneficial to England. The same, and other circumstances, have procured them a great share in the trade of Spain and Portugal¹.

The prosperity of the French manufactures, however, received a temporary check from the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685. The persecuted protestants, to the number of almost a million, who had been chiefly employed in these manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other countries, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion; carrying along with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry, to a very great amount, in gold and silver. They were much caressed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of silk, and of linen. The importation of those articles from France was soon prohibited, as inconsistent with national interest; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw or unmanufactured silk was imported from Italy and China; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been established, and where all sorts of furs were found in the greatest plenty, and of the most excellent quality. Clock and watch work was executed in England with the utmost elegance and exactness, as well as all other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewelry; the cotton manufactory, now so highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every species were at length finished with so much taste and facility as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itself, the birth-place of fashion, and the nursery of splendid bagatelles.

4. Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii.

In the mean time, the English and French colonies, in North-America, enlarged their boundaries, and increased in wealth and population. The French colony of Canada, or new France, was augmented by the settlement of Louisiana, and a line of communication was established, before the middle of the present century, from the mouth of the river St Laurence to that of the Mississippi. The English colonies, more populous and cultivated, extended along the sea-coast, from the bottom of the bay of Fundy to the river Altamaha, on the frontiers of Florida. New-England furnished masts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses. New-York and New-Jersey, formerly known by the name of Nova-Belgia, conquered from the Dutch, in 1664, and Pennsylvania, settled in 1681, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West-Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland was become a staple commodity, in high request, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, so necessary to a naval and commercial people, soon became of vast importance.

But the most beneficial trade of both nations arose, and still continues to proceed, from their colonies in the West-India islands. The rich produce of those islands, which is chiefly intended for exportation, and all carried in the ships of the mother countries, affords employment to a great number of seamen; and as the inhabitants, who do not so much as make their own wearing apparel, or the common implements of husbandry, are supplied with clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, toys, and even the luxuries of the table, from Europe, the intercourse is active, and productive of mutual prosperity and happiness. The islands in the American Archipelago, in a word, are the prime marts for French and English manufactures, and furnish the nations to which they belong, in their sugars, their
rums,

rum, their cotton, coffee, cocoa and other articles, with a more valuable exchange than that of gold.

Nor are those islands destitute of the precious metals, though now less plenty there than formerly. An inquiry into this subject will lead us to many curious particulars in the history of the West-Indies, and prove, at the same time, a necessary introduction to the maritime war between England and Spain, which broke out in 1739.

After the failure of the mines of Hispaniola, which were never rich, and the conquest of the two extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion, that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained, sunk into the most enervating indolence. The necessities, however, and even many of the luxuries of life, were there found in abundance. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which were become in a manner wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniencies, certain French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers or freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh, part they dried, and the hides they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast, and who furnished them in return, with clothes, liquors, fire-arms, powder, and shot. But the wild cattle at length becoming scarce, the buccaneers were

5. The dress of the Buccaneers consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt; a leathern girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and some Dutch knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off

were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. The sober-minded men applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly requited their toil, while those of a bold and restless disposition associated with pirates and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England are indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West-Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical buccaneers, who took the name of *Brothers of the Coast*. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in an open boat, which generally contained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate; to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniences, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the buccaneers averse against all those restraints, which civilized men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred on their captain, was chiefly confined to giving orders in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent economy, they were frequently exposed to all the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a

off: shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. (*Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii.) These barbarous men, the outcasts of civil society, were denominated *Buccaneers*, because they dried with smoke, conformable to the custom of the savages, part of the flesh of the cattle they had killed, in places denominated *baccans* in the language of the natives. Id. *ibid*.

sail

sail transported them to a degree of frenzy. They seldom deliberated on the mode of attack, but their custom was to board the ships as soon as possible. The smallness of their own vessels, and their dexterity in managing them, preserved them from the fire of the enemy. They presented only to the broadside of the ship, their slender prows, filled with expert marksmen, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with such exactness, as to confound the most experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle, the largest trading vessels were generally obliged to strike⁶.

Although the buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought that the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the New-World, were a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which, perhaps, unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity, they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty, without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune⁷.

6. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part i chap. vi.

7. *Id. ibid.* This is a precious picture of the inconsistency of human nature, and a striking proof how little connection there frequently is between religion and morality! a truth which is farther illustrated by the following curious anecdote. "One of the chief causes of our disagreement," says an enlightened freebooter, speaking of the quarrels between the French and English Buccaneers, in their expedition to the South-Sea, "was the impiety of the English; for they made no scruple, when they got into a church, to cut down the arms of a crucifix with their sabres, or to shoot them down with their fusils and pistols, bruising and maiming the images of the saints in the same manner!" (*Voy. des Flibust. per Raveneau de Lussan.*) But it does not appear that those devout plunderers, who were shocked at seeing the image of a saint maimed, were more tender than the English Buccaneers of the persons or properties of their fellow-creatures, or ever attempted to restrain their impious associates from any act of injustice or inhumanity.

This booty was originally carried to the island of Tortuga, the common rendezvous of the buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterwards the French went to some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards, and the English, to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage, and lay out their money more agreeably, either in business or pleasure.

Before the distribution of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested he had secreted nothing of what he had taken, and if any one was convicted of perjury, a case that seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner truly exemplary, and worthy the imitation of better men. He was expelled the community, and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species!

After providing for the sick, the wounded, the maimed, and settling their several shares, the buccaneers indulged themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. Their debauches, which they carried to the greatest excess, were limited only by the want that such prodigality occasioned. If they were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had earned with so much jeopardy, they made this very ingenious reply:—"Exposed as we are to a variety of perils, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and run the hazard of being dead to-morrow, think of hoarding! Studious only of enjoying the present hour, we never think of that which is to come³." This has ever been the language of men in such circumstances: the desire of dissipating life, not solicitude for the preservation of existence, seems to increase in proportion to the danger of losing it.

3. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. liv. vii. ch. i.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first buccaneers, as the merchandize they carried could not readily have been sold in the West-Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched the Spanish vessels in their return to Europe, when certain they were partly laden with treasure. They commonly followed the galleons and flota, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she seldom escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once: and the Spaniards, who considered them as dæmons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered, if they came to close quarters⁹.

A remarkable instance of this timidity on the one side, and temerity on the other, occurs in the history of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe in Normandy; who, with a small vessel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men, and four guns, had the boldness to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. Resolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the same purpose from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the side of his own vessel, that all hope of escape might be cut off. This was no sooner done than he boarded the Spanish ship, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other; and bearing down all resistance, entered the great cabin, attended by a few of the most desperate of his associates. He there found the admiral surrounded by his officers, presented a pistol to his breast, and ordered him to surrender. Meanwhile the rest of the buccaneers took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards demanded quarter¹⁰. Like examples are numerous in the history of the buccaneers.

The Spaniards almost reduced to despair, by finding themselves a continual prey to those ravagers, diminished

9. *Id. ibid.*

10. *List. Buccaneers*, part i. chap. vii.

the number of their ships, and the colonies gave up their connections with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase the boldness of the buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land, that wealth which the sea denied them. They accordingly formed themselves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the new world. Maracaybo, Campeachy, Vera Cruz, Porto-Bello, and Carthagera, on this side of the continent, severely felt the effects of their fury; and Quayaquil, Panama, and many other places on the coasts of the South-Sea, were not more fortunate in their resistance, or treated with greater lenity¹¹. In a word, the buccaneers, the most extraordinary set of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whose duration was transitory, subjected to their arms, without a regular system of government, without laws, without any permanent subordination, and even without revenue, cities and castles which have baffled the utmost efforts of national force; and if conquest, not plunder, had been their object, they might have made themselves masters of all Spanish America.

Among the buccaneers who first acquired distinction in this new mode of plundering, was Montbars, a gentleman of Languedoc. Having by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial, and perhaps exaggerated account of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world, he conceived a strong antipathy against a nation that had committed so many enormities. His heated imagination, which he loved to indulge, continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of innocent people, murdered by a brood of savage monsters nursed in the mountains of Castile. The unhappy victims, whose names were

11. Ibid. part. i. ii. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, ubi sup.

ever present to his memory, seemed to call upon him for vengeance: he longed to embrue his hands in Spanish blood, and to retaliate the cruelties of the Spaniards, on the same shores where they had been perpetrated. He accordingly embarked on board a French ship bound to the West-Indies, about the middle of the last century, and joined the buccaneers, whose natural ferocity he inflamed. Humanity in him became the source of the most unfeeling barbarity. The Spaniards suffered so much from his fury, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator* ².

Michael de Baso and Francis Lolonois were also greatly renowned for their exploits, both by sea and land. Their most important, though not their most fortunate enterprise, was that of the Gulf of Venezuela, with eight vessels, and six hundred and sixty associates. This gulf runs a considerable way up into the country, and communicates with the lake of Maracaybo, by a narrow strait. That strait is defended by a castle called *la Barra*, which the A.D. 1667. buccaneers took, and nailed up the cannon.— They then passed the bar, and advanced to the city of Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake, at the distance of about ten leagues from its mouth. But, to their inexpressible disappointment, they found it utterly deserted and unfurnished; the inhabitants, apprised of their danger, having removed to the other side of the lake with their most valuable effects.

If the buccaneers had not spent a fortnight in riot and debauchery, they would have found at Gibraltar, a town near the extremity of the lake, every thing which the people of Maracaybo had carried off, in order to elude their rapacity. On the contrary, by their imprudent delay, they met with fortifications newly erected, which they had the glory of reducing at the expense of much blood, and the mortification of finding another empty town. Exasperated at this second disappointment, the buccaneers set fire to

12. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. liv. vii. ch. i.

Gibraltar;

Gibraltar; and Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the bribe they received for their lenity, they took with them the bells, images, and all the ornamental furniture of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate that part of their spoils to sacred uses¹³! Like other plunderers of more exalted character, they had no idea of the absurdity of offering to heaven the fruits of robbery and murder, procured in direct violation of its laws.

But of all the buccaneers, French or English, none was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of the principality of Wales. While de Basco, Lolonois, and their companions, were squandering at Tortuga the spoils they had acquired in the gulf of Venezuela, Morgan sailed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello; and his measures were so well concerted, that soon after his A.D. 1668. landing, he surprised the centinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence.

In hopes of reducing with the same facility the citadel, or chief castle, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property, and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan bethought himself of an expedient that discovers his knowledge of national character, as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the priests, nuns, and other women, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling ladders against the walls of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would not suffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself deceived in this flattering conjecture. The Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works. Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in

13. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. i.

spite of all opposition; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandize, bullion and specie equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling¹⁴.

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise.— Understanding that de Basco and Lolonois had been disappointed in the promised plunder of Maracaybo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved, from emulation, no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view he collected fifteen vessels, carrying nine hundred and sixty men.

A. D. 1669. These ravagers entered the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defends the passage to the lake of Maracaybo, and found the town, as formerly, totally deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however with this booty, Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar, which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting by the most horrid cruelties, to extort from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men of war at the entrance of the lake.

At this intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoiter the enemy, the heart of the bravest buccaneer sunk within him. But although Morgan considered his situation as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the city of Maracaybo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded all hope of working upon his fears. "I am come," said he, "to dispute your passage out of the lake: and I have the means of doing it. Nevertheless, if you will submit to surrender, with humility, all the booty and prisoners

14. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part ii. chap. vi.

“ you have taken, I will suffer you to pass, and permit you
 “ to return to your own country, without trouble or mo-
 “ lestation. But if you reject this offer, or hesitate to
 “ comply, I will order boats from Caracas, in which I
 “ will embark my troops; and, sailing to Maracaybo,
 “ will put every man of you to the sword. This is my
 “ final determination. Be prudent, therefore, and do
 “ not abuse my bounty by an ungrateful return¹⁵. I have
 “ with me,” added he, “ very good troops, who desire
 “ nothing more ardently than to revenge on you and your
 “ people all the cruelties and depredations which you have
 “ committed upon the Spanish nation in America.”

The moment Morgan received this letter, he called together his followers: and, after acquainting them with its contents, desired them to deliberate, whether they would give up all their plunder, in order to secure their liberty, or fight for it?—They unanimously answered, That they would rather lose the last drop of their blood, than resign a booty which had been purchased with so much peril. Morgan, however, sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to compromise the matter, but in vain. The Spanish admiral continued to insist on his first conditions. When Morgan was made acquainted with this inflexibility, he coolly replied: “ If Don Alon-
 “ zo will not allow me to pass, I will find means to pass
 “ without his permission.” He accordingly made a division of the spoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and having filled a vessel, which he had taken from the enemy, with preparations of gun-powder and other combustible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burnt two of the Spanish ships, took one; and by making a feint of disembarking men in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted the attention of the garrison to that side, while he passed the bar with

15. “ Dated on board the royal ship, named the *Magdalen* lying at anchor at the entrance of the lake of Maracaybo, this 24th of April, 1466. DON ALONZO DEL CAMPO.” *Voy. des Flibust. Hist. Buccaneers*, part ii. c. vii.
 his

his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage¹⁶.

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate him to yet greater undertakings. Having disposed of his booty at A. D. 1670. Port Royal in Jamaica, he again put to sea with a larger fleet, and a more numerous body of adventurers; and after reducing the island of St. Catharine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only channel that could conduct him to Panama, the grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river stood a strong castle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garrison, which threatened to baffle all the efforts of the buccaneers; when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of those resolute men. With wonderful firmness and presence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the wound; and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his musket, which was already loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw, and the sides of wood, conformable to the custom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houses, which immediately took fire; a circumstance that threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of perishing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the blowing up of the powder-magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely perished with his sword in his hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place surrendered to the assailants¹⁷.

This chief obstacle being removed, Morgan and his associates, leaving the larger vessels under guard, sailed up the Chagre in boats to Cruces, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the Savanna, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repulse

16. *Id. ibid.*17. *Ulloa's Voyage*, vol. i.

the ferocious invaders, but without effect: the buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter. Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; so that Morgan took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately pillaged it for some days¹⁸.

But Morgan met at Panama with what he valued no less than his rich booty. A fair captive inflamed his savage heart with love; and, finding all his solicitations ineffectual, as neither his person nor character was calculated to inspire the object of his passion with favourable sentiments toward him, he resolved to second his assiduities with a seasonable mixture of force. "Stop, ruffian!" cried she, as she wildly sprung from his arms:—"stop! thinkest thou that thou canst ravish from me mine honour, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? No! be assured that my soul shall sooner be separated from this body:"—and she drew a poinard from her bosom, which she would have plunged into his heart, if he had not avoided the blow⁹.

Enraged at such a return to his fondness, Morgan threw this virtuous beauty into a loathsome dungeon, and endeavoured to break her spirit by severities. But his followers becoming clamorous at being kept so long in a state of inactivity by a caprice which they could not comprehend, he was obliged to listen to their importunities,

18. Id. *ibid*.

19. The Spanish ladies, however, as we learn from the freebooter Ravenau de Lussan, were not all possessed of the same inflexible virtue. The buccaneers had been represented to them as devils, as cannibals, and beings who were destitute of the human form. They accordingly trembled at the very name of those plunderers. But on a nearer approach they found them to be men, and some of them handsome fellows. And in this, as in all cases where they have been abused by false representations of our sex, the women flew to the opposite extreme as soon as they were undeceived; and clasped in their amorous arms the murderers of their husbands and brothers. Charmed with the ardour of a band of adventurers whose every passion was in excess; they did not part without tears of agony from the warm embrace of their piratical paramours to return into the cool paths of common life. *Voy. des Elibust. chap. iv. v.*

and give up his amorous pursuit²⁰. As a prelude to their return, the booty was divided, and Morgan's own share in the pillage of this expedition, is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprize²¹.

The defection of Morgan, and several other principal leaders, who sought and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society, whose laws they had so atrociously violated, together with the total separation of the English and French buccaneers, in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the revolution in 1688, broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain being then in alliance with England, A. D. 1690. she repressed the piracies of her subjects in the West-Indies. The French buccaneers continued their depredations, and with no small success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted, a stop was every where put to hostilities, and not only the association, but the very name of this extraordinary set of men soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West-Indies.

Before this period, however, the French colony in Hispaniola had arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity; and Jamaica, into which the spoils of Mexico and Peru were more abundantly poured, was already in a flourishing condition. The buccaneers found at Port-Royal better reception, and greater security, than any where else. They could there land their booty with the utmost facility, and spend in a variety of pleasures the wealth arising from their piracy; and as prodigality and debauchery soon reduced them again to indigence, that grand incitement to their

20. *Hist. Buccaneers*, part iii. chap. v. vi.

21. After Morgan settled in Jamaica, he was knighted by that prince of pleasure and whim, Charles II.

sanguinary industry made them eagerly hasten to commit fresh depredations. Hence the settlement reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profusion; by the vices which led to their want, and their abundance.

The wealth, which flowed into Jamaica through that channel, gave great activity to every branch of culture; and, after the piracies of the buccaneers were suppressed, it proved a new source of riches, by enabling the inhabitants to open a clandestine trade to the Spanish settlements, whence it had its origin. This illicit and lucrative commerce was rendered more facile and secure, by the Assiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which England obtained at the peace of Utrecht. In consequence of that contract, as I have ^{A. D. 1713.} already had occasion to observe, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other important places in South-America and the isthmus of Mexico. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies, occasionally lifted by the buccaneers, was now entirely removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in her towns of most extensive trade and ports of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of her American empire; of observing its wants, and knowing what commodities might be imported into it with the greatest advantage. The merchants of Jamaica, and other English colonies that traded to the Spanish main, were accordingly enabled, by means of information so authentic and expeditious, to assort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on to a vast amount, and with incredible profit²².

22. Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. ii. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, book viii.

In order to put a stop to this trade, which, together with that carried on by the British South-Sea company, had almost ruined the rich commerce of the galleons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, ships of force under the name of *Guarda-Costas*, were stationed upon the coasts of those provinces, to which interlopers most frequently resorted. Such a precaution was certainly prudent, but it ought to have been put in execution with equity. If the ships, commissioned to prevent that illicit traffic, had only seized upon the vessels really concerned in it, neither the commanders, nor the government that appointed them, could justly have incurred any blame; but the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps a spirit of revenge, incited the Spanish officers to stop, under various pretences, many vessels that had a legal destination, and even to treat the seamen with the greatest cruelty.

England, whose power and glory is founded on commerce, and who could not patiently suffer any restraint upon a branch of trade which custom had made her consider as lawful, was highly incensed, when she understood that those restraints were converted into hostilities, and carried to an excess inconsistent with the laws of nations. The body of the people called loudly for vengeance, and the leading members in both houses of parliament directed all the thunder of their eloquence against the minister, who could tamely see his country exposed to such indignities. But sir Robert Walpole, who still governed the councils of Great-Britain, and who had an equal contempt for party-rage and popular opinion, paid little regard to these violent invectives or seditious clamours. Strongly convinced of the importance of peace to a trading nation, he endeavoured to obtain, by negotiation, satisfaction from the court of Madrid. The preliminaries of a convention were accordingly signed at Pardo, in the beginning A. D. 1739. of the year 1739. And although the terms of this treaty were neither so honourable nor advantageous to Great-Britain

Great-Britain as might have been wished, they were the best that could possibly be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreseen by that minister.

The chief article of the convention provided, that the king of Spain should pay to the subjects of Great-Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds sterling, by way of indemnification for their losses, in consequence of the seizures made by the guarda-costas. This was, in effect, acknowledging the injustice of those seizures; but as no provision was made against future violences, the grand question, "Whether British vessels, navigating the American seas, should be any where, or under any circumstances, subject to SEARCH?" being left to be discussed by a congress, the interests of the country were supposed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment. Petitions against the convention were sent from all the principal trading towns in the kingdom, and the universal outcry was, "A free sea, or a war!" Walpole found himself under the necessity of resigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude: and the king of Spain, by neglecting to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed day, furnished him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary, he ^{OCT. 19.} affirmed, that the convention-treaty would have been attended with all the advantages that could be procured by the most successful war²³; and that future ages would do justice to the counsels that produced it.

But

23. It would at least have been productive of more advantages than the war that ensued. And if it should be said, that it was impossible to foresee the subsequent misfortunes, which arose from a variety of causes, it may at least be added in reply, that the interests of a few merchants concerned in a contraband trade, however lucrative, was not a sufficient object to engage two great nations in a war, the success of which must be doubtful, and which, it was evident, must be prosecuted at a vast expense of blood and treasure. It was the unsubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hostilities; and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a set of ambitious men in both houses of parliament, who assumed

But although the pacific disposition of sir Robert Walpole, and his intimate knowledge of the essential interests of his country, made him averse from war, he no sooner resolved upon hostilities than the vigour of his measures was as conspicuous as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock, was sent to cruize off the coast of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who stood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a squadron in the West-Indies. This gentleman had rendered himself conspicuous in the house of commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the minister, and bluntly speaking his sentiments on every occasion. In a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he declared, that he would undertake to reduce Porto-Bello with six ships. That offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in opposition, and reverberated from every corner in the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the minister, in order to gain their confidence, sent him to fulfil his boast; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and draw disgrace on himself and his party.

The event, however, justified the admiral's assertion. He sailed from Jamaica with no more than six ships, and two hundred and forty soldiers on board. Yet such
 A. D. 1740. was the dastardliness of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the British tars, who mounted the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto-Bello was taken almost without bloodshed. Of that place some account must be given.

The town of Porto-Bello is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain, which embraces an excellent harbour. This harbour was well defended by forts, all of which were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon, who immediately abandoned his conquest. It could only indeed be of importance to the masters of Peru, as its opulence depended entirely upon its situation; and

to themselves the deluding name of patriots; but who, since time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a desperate faction, struggling for the emoluments of office.

even

even that opulence could only induce an inconsiderable number of inhabitants constantly to reside on a spot, so unhealthy, that it has been denominated the *grave of the Spaniards*. But during the annual fair, which lasted forty days, Porto-Bello was a theatre of the richest commerce that was ever transacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern side of the isthmus, which divides the two seas, thither were brought from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of necessity, accommodation, and luxury. The sickly and almost deserted town was quickly filled with people; its port was crowded with ships; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules, laden with the precious metals. Instead of silence and solitude, nothing was to be seen in the streets and squares but bustling multitudes, bales of goods, and chests of treasure²⁴.

But that rich commerce, as well as the contraband trade, has since been ruined by the abolition of the galleons, and by substituting in their place register-ships; which sailing round Cape-Horn, pass immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a supply of European goods, and return to Europe with the treasure by the same course. In consequence of this new regulation, which took place in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto-Bello has sunk almost to nothing; and these two towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South-Sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies, now serve only as a passage for the negroes that are carried to Peru, and some other inconsiderable branches of decaying traffic²⁵.

The joy of the English nation on the taking of Porto-Bello was excessive. The two houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms; the

24. Ulloa's *Voyage*.25. Robertson, *Hist. Amer.* book viii.

people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the minister to continue him in the command of the British fleet in the West-Indies.

This compliance with the wishes of the people, however, served only to render the popular members in the house of commons more clamorous. They considered it as a partial victory, and resolved to push their advantage; they attempted the entire removal of the minister; and a motion was even made to that purpose. Piqued at this ungenerous return, as he considered it, to his condescensions, sir Robert Walpole concluded a masterly speech, (in which he refuted every charge brought against him) with the following keen expressions, that strongly marked the character of those contentious and venal times. "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of *patriotism*; a venerable virtue, when duly practised! "But I am sorry to observe, that of late it has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot! why patriots spring up like mushrooms: I could raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot.—I have long heard of this *patriotic* motion," added he; "and let gentlemen contradict me, if they can, when I say I could have prevented it. By what means I leave the house to judge!"

The reduction of Porto-Bello was but a prelude to greater enterprises. Nothing less was resolved upon than the utter destruction of the Spanish settlements in the new world. With this view, an English squadron was dispatched to the South-Sea, under commodore Anson, in order to ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili; while a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, command-

ed by sir Chaloner Ogle, beside frigates fire-ships, bomb-ketches, store-ships, victuallers, and transports, with upward of ten thousand land forces on board, was sent to the West-Indies, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co-operate with Anson, by means of intelligence to be conveyed across the isthmus of Darien. The land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, as well as experience in military affairs: and the ardour of both soldiers and sailors to come to action was excessive. This ardour drew from lord Cathcart the following words, in a letter to admiral Vernon. “ In the troops I bring you, there is spirit, there is good will; which, when properly conducted, will produce, I hope, what the nation expects from us—will make us the glorious instruments of finishing the war, with all the advantages to the public that its happy beginning promises; and with this distinguishing circumstance, that those happy effects have been owing to a perfect *harmony* between the *sea* and *land-forces*²⁷.”

The want of that harmony proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart unfortunately died soon after his arrival in the West-Indies, the command of the land-forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, resolution, or authority. He had nothing in common with Vernon but his obstinacy, and as great a contempt for the sea, as the admiral had for the land-service. These two ill-associated A.D. 1741. commanders, whose powers were discretion- MARCH 9. ary, after being reinforced with some troops from the English colonies in North-America, determined to attack Carthagera.

The city of Carthagera is seated on a peninsula, or sandy island, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadest of which is not above seventy

27. *Modern Universal Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and after the modern manner. The houses are mostly of stone, and the streets are broad, straight, and well paved. It is supposed to contain about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of a middling height, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and in some measure, the harbour, which is the safest in the American dominions of Spain, and one of the best any where known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a safe and excellent bottom²⁸. At the time the trade of the Spanish settlements in South-America was carried on by the galleons, those ships sailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto-Bello, and visited it again on their return. Its trade has declined since their abolition; but the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Sant a Fé, Popayan, and Choco, must ever make it a place of great importance.

In consequence of the resolution of the English commanders to attack this opulent and strong city, a descent was made on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of the harbour, which is known by the name of Bocca Chica, or *Little-mouth*, from its narrowness, and which was fortified in a surprising manner with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. Several of the smaller castles were almost instantly reduced by sir Chaloner Ogle, to whom that service was committed; and batteries being erected against the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and fort St. Joseph were successively taken by storm. A breach was made in Castillo Grande, and the British troops, supported by the seamen, advanced to the assault. Contrary to all expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spanish ships, which lay across the mouth of

28. Ulloa, lib. i. chap. 3.

the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; the passage was opened; the fleet entered without farther opposition, and the troops were disembarked within a mile of the city.

After surmounting so many difficulties, with such facility, the besiegers thought that little remained but to take possession of Carthagena. A ship was accordingly sent express to London with intelligence to that effect; and public rejoicings were held at Jamaica, and over all the English islands in the West-Indies. But the animosities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth, disappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the sanguine expectations of those concerned in the expedition. Each seemed more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was always putting the general in mind of the necessity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Resolutions, in a council of war, were taken for that purpose, but nothing was done in consequence of them. A shameful inactivity, which might partly proceed from the climate, seems to have possessed the troops²⁹.

The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral, in not landing the tents, stores, and artillery. And it must be admitted that both were in fault. If Wentworth had attacked the citadel before the enemy had recovered from the panic, occasioned by the reduction of the forts that defended the harbour, the

29. The heat is excessive and continual at Carthagena; and the torrents of water that are incessantly pouring down, from May to November, have this singularity, that they never cool the air, which is sometimes a little moderated during the dry season, by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. Hence the inhabitants, wasted by profuse perspiration, have the pale and livid appearance of sick persons; all their motions are languid and sluggish; their speech is soft and slow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. Ulloa, *Nov. lib. chap. v.*

English would certainly have become masters of the place; whereas the inaction of the land forces, beside the diseases to which it exposed them, gave the Spaniards time to recover their spirits, and to take every precaution for their defence. Nor was Vernon less remiss in his duty, in not sending his ships to batter and bombard the town by sea; for it is beyond dispute, notwithstanding some surmises to the contrary, that great execution might have been done by such a mode of attack. The largest ships could have lain near enough to have damaged the buildings without being exposed to much alarm; and the bombs would have been attended with great effect, as the houses in that country are chiefly covered with shingles, or small thin boards, instead of slate or tiles.

During these disputes, the army was employed in erecting batteries, in order to make a breach in fort St. Lazarus. But the heavy cannon not being yet arrived, nor the batteries near completed, the chief engineer gave it as his opinion, that the place might be rendered so much stronger before the batteries could be opened, as to over-balance the advantage to be expected from them. This absurd opinion, seconded by the importunities of Vernon, determined Wentworth to hazard an assault, after all rational prospect of success from such a mode of attack had ceased, until a breach should be made in the walls. So firm, however, was the courage of the British troops, that, if other instances of misconduct had not accompanied that unsoldier-like attempt, there is reason to believe Carthagena would have been taken. The assault, instead of being made in the night, was delayed till morning; the soldiers were conducted, by mistake, against the strongest part of the citadel; the scaling ladders were found too short; the woolpacks and granado-shells were left in the rear; and the admiral neglected to divert the attention of the enemy by battering the town by sea, or even making use of his bomb-ketches³⁰.—In consequence of these several blunders, and others con-

30. *Univ. Hist.* ubi. sup. Smollett's *Hist. Eng.* vol. xi.

nected with them, the brave assailants were exposed to the whole fire of the fort, and partly to that of the city, without the least power of defending themselves, or of annoying the Spaniards. A mere carnage ensued; and although a retreat was soon judged necessary, colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, and six hundred of the flower of the English army was left dead on the field.

The besiegers were so much discouraged by this unpropitious and ill-directed effort, that they gave up all hopes of being able to reduce the place. And the rainy season set in with such violence, as rendered it impossible for the troops to live on shore. They were therefore reembarked, and the enterprise was relinquished, after the admiral had made a feeble attempt to bombard the town, in order to convince the general of its impracticability; though that consequence was by no means the result of this impertinent experiment. On the contrary, it was affirmed, that the continuance of such a mode of attack, properly conducted, would have reduced the city to heaps of ruins; that a floating battery, which had been prepared, did not lie in the proper place for annoying the enemy; that the water was there indeed too shallow, to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success, but that a little toward the left, the harbour was sufficiently deep, and that four or five ships of the line might have been moored within pistol-shot of the walls³¹.

After the reembarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead! Nothing was seen but objects of woe or images of dejection; and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and dis-

31. *Univ. Hist.* vol. xv. fol. edit.

grace. The fortifications of the harbour of Carthagena were accordingly demolished, and the English fleet sailed for Jamaica, to the astonishment and confusion of the mother country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depressed in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated; nor was any thing afterward done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprise, to retrieve the honour of the British arms. Though Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England; and although they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba, and Panama, they returned home, without effecting any thing of consequence, notwithstanding the loss of nearly twenty thousand men³².

The expedition under Anson was not more fortunate in the beginning; and, but for accident, it would have terminated in equal disgrace. Being attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn, two of his ships were obliged to return in distress: one was lost; another was so much damaged as to be abandoned soon after; and the greater part of his people died of the sea-scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. In this delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits; and the Centurion, his own ship, being still in pretty good repair, he soon put to sea, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Patta, on the coast of Peru, where he found a booty of silver to the amount of about thirty thousand pounds sterling. From his prisoners he learned, that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes; as Don Joseph Pizarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and two thousand men in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But that consolatory intelligence was balanced by information of a less agreeable kind. Anson also learned, from

32. Smollett's *Hist. Eng.* vol. xi. *Univ. Hist.* ubi sup.

some papers found on board his prizes, that the English expedition against Carthagena had miscarried. This discouraging news made him sensible of the impropriety of attempting to execute that part of his instructions, which regarded an attack upon Panama, in consequence of a supposed co-operation with the British troops, across the isthmus of Darien. He therefore bore away for Acapulco, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he understood was then at sea. Happily for the Spaniards, she had reached that port before his arrival. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but without effect. At last finding himself destitute of every necessary, he sailed for the river Canton, in China, where he arrived after a long and distressing voyage. Having refitted his ship, and taken in a supply of provisions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and after cruising there some time, he fortunately met with and took the annual ship from Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, to Manilla, in the island of Luconia, laden with treasure, to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and other valuable commodities³³.

Anson went a second time to Canton, where he asserted the honour of the British flag in a very spirited manner, and returned to England by the Cape of Good-Hope in 1744, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had heard of his disasters, and concluded that he and all his crew were lost. The Spanish treasure was carried to the tower with much parade; and an expedition, which, all things considered, ought rather to have been deemed unfortunate, was magnified beyond measure. Anson's perseverance, however, deserved praise, and the success of a

33. *Anson's Voyage*, by Walter. The treasure consisted of one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty dollars or pesos, with uncoined silver equal in value to forty-three thousand six hundred and eleven dollars.

single ship seemed to point out what might be performed by a stout squadron on the coasts of the South-Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterprise against Carthagera was still so fresh in the memory of the nation, that no farther attempt was made during the war to distress the Spanish settlements in America.

I shall here, my dear Philip, close this letter; as the naval transactions in the European seas, though seemingly connected with the subject, will enter with more propriety into the general narration. The war, occasioned by the death of the emperor Charles VI. must now engage our attention.

LETTER XXVIII.

THE GENERAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI. IN 1740, TO THE TREATY OF DRESDEN, IN 1745, AND THE CONFIRMATION OF THE TREATY OF BRESLAW.

THE death of the emperor Charles VI. the last prince of the ancient house of Austria, without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjusting of whose pretensions threw all Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the pragmatic sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to the whole Austrian dominions belonged to the archduchess Maria-Theresa, the late emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand-duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Forest Towns, Burgaw, Brisgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia, formed that immense inheritance.

Almost all the European powers had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction; but, as prince Eugene judiciously re-

marked, "an hundred thousand men would have guaranteed it better than an hundred thousand treaties!" Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in virtue of the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. The catholic king deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. wife of Philip II. of Spain, from whom he was descended by females; and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan. The king of France had also his pretensions, and to the whole disputed succession, as being descended in a right line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses, married to his ancestors, Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. But, conscious that such a claim would excite the jealousy of all Europe, he did not appear as a competitor; though he was not without hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by abetting the claims of another.

In the meantime Maria-Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance, which was secured to her by the pragmatic sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of ^{NOV. 7.} Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians; in voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns; by which the subjects, should their privileges be invaded, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels.

As the ancestors of this princess had ever been backward in complying with such engagements, the early taking of that prudent step was attended with wonderful popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years spent in seditious broils and civil wars, still bore with impatience the Austrian yoke, submitted with pleasure to the government of Maria-Theresa, whom they almost adored, and who was worthy of their warmest regard. Her first care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her husband a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent: and she flattered herself, that the consequence, thus conferred upon the grand-duke, would soon raise him to the Imperial throne'. But she had forgot that she was destitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Austrian succession, were rising up against her; and that her troops, though far from inconsiderable, were dispersed over her extensive dominions.

The first alarm was given by a formidable but unexpected pretender. Frederic III. king of Prussia, had lately succeeded his father Frederic William, a wise and politic prince, who had by a rigid economy, amassed a prodigious treasure, though he maintained, for his own security, an army of sixty thousand men, which he prudently left his son to employ². "If we may be said to owe the shade of "the oak," observes the royal historian, "to the acorn "from which it sprung, in like manner we may discern, in "the sagacious conduct of Frederic William, the source "of the future greatness of his successor³."

This ambitious, enlightened, and enterprising monarch, whose character I shall afterward have occasion
A. D. 1741. to develope, in describing his heroic achievements, and in tracing his extensive plans of policy, revived certain antiquated claims of his family to four duchies in Silesia: and, instead of having recourse to unmeaning mani-

1. Voltaire Millot. 2. *Mém. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii. 3. Id. *ibid.*

festos,

festos, he began his march at the head of thirty thousand choice troops, in order to establish his right. When he found himself in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of Breslaw, its capital, he shewed a disposition to negotiate. He offered to supply Maria-Theresa, then commonly known by the name of queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmost of his power, the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the Imperial throne, provided she would cede to him the Lower-Silesia.

That would have been a small sacrifice for peace and security. But the queen of Hungary was sensible that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she should only encourage those of others. She therefore rejected, perhaps too hastily, the offers of the king of Prussia, and sent count Neuperg, one of her best generals, with a strong body of troops into Silesia, in order to expel the invaders. The two armies, nearly equal in numbers, met at Molwitz, a village in the neighbourhood of the town of Neiss, and within a league of the river of the same name. There a desperate battle was fought. The action lasted from two in the afternoon till six in the evening; when the Austrians, in spite of the most vigorous efforts, were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiss, with the loss of four thousand men.

This victory, which was followed, though not immediately, with the reduction of Glatz and Neiss, and the submission of the whole province of Silesia, was acquired solely by the firmness of the Prussian infantry, and their celerity in firing, in consequence of a new exercise taught them by their young king. The cavalry were totally routed, by the superiority of the Austrians in horse; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himself, in danger of being made prisoner, was carried off the field in the more early part of the engagement. But the second line of infantry stood immoveable; and

by the admirable discipline of that body, the battle was restored⁴.

The success of the king of Prussia astonished all Europe; and the refusal of Maria-Theresa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness :—so apt are mankind to judge of measures by events, and to connect wisdom with good fortune, and folly with disaster !—But, even at this distance of time, when a more impartial judgment may be formed, if the queen of Hungary's resolution was again to be taken, it would be difficult for political sagacity to direct her which alternative to chuse. What might have been the consequence of her compliance with the king of Prussia's proposals, it is impossible to say; but we know that her intrepidity of spirit in resolving, at all hazards, to preserve undivided the Austrian succession, exalted her in the esteem of her most powerful and natural allies, who ultimately secured to her the greater part of that succession. It must, however, be admitted, that the successful invasion of the king of Prussia, the unforeseen consequence of her refusal, and an assurance of the support of so powerful a prince, encouraged the court of Versailles in the ambitious project of placing the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne. The rise of this project deserves to be traced.

France had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of Charles VI. and cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of preserving inviolate the engagements of his master. But no sooner was it known at Versailles that the king of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the cardinal found himself unable to withstand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increased by the battle of Molwitz, and the failure of the English in their attempt upon South America. Assured of the assistance

⁴ Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XV.* chap. v

of Spain, which turned a wishful eye on the Italian possessions of the queen of Hungary, the young nobility and princes of the blood, eager for an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in arms, represented to the king, That the period so long desired, was now arrived, of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; by dismembering the dominions of Maria-Theresa, and placing on the Imperial throne Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, a stipendary of his most christian majesty.

The moderation and natural equity of Lewis XV. yielded to arguments so flattering to his pride; and to the count, afterward mareschal and duke de Bellisle, and his brother the chevalier, the chief inspirers of these violent councils, was committed the execution of that ambitious project. They proposed that fifty thousand French troops, of which twenty thousand were to be cavalry, should pass the Rhine, and advance toward the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army of about forty thousand men, should be formed on the side of Westphalia, in order to keep in awe the electorate of Hanover; and that proper application should be made to the most considerable princes of the empire, corresponding to their several situations, and to share in its spoils. A moment was not lost in carrying this plan into execution.

Meanwhile, the count de Belleisle being dispatched into Germany, in the double capacity of ambassador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria, at Nymphonburg. By this treaty the king of France engaged to assist that prince with his whole force in order to raise him to the Imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promised, That after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire, which the French should have conquered; that he would, in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that
France

France might retain irrevocably whatever places should be subdued by her arms in the Austrian Netherlands. The count de Belleisle also negociated a treaty between Lewis XV. and Frederic III. king of Prussia; in which it was stipulated, That the elector of Bavaria, together with the Imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper-Austria, and the county of Tyrol; that Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, should be gratified with Moravia and Upper-Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz.

These treaties were no sooner concluded, than the French forces were put in motion; and Lewis XV. appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the first station among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareschals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him. He at the same time issued a declaration, setting forth, That the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a threatening posture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, was resolved, without prejudice to the pragmatic sanction, to march some troops toward the Rhine, in order to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to assist those princes who might call upon him for the execution of his engagements.

The fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe; yet it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great-Britain, alarmed for the safety of his German dominions, and finding, after a tedious and fruitless negotiation, that he could not depend upon the support of the Dutch, who were timid and backward, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover; in consequence
SEPT. 16. of which not only the troops of that electorate, but the auxiliary Danes and Hessians, in British pay, who had been commanded to march to the assistance of Maria-Theresa, were ordered to remain in their respective countries; and the embarkation of a body of British troops, collected for the same purpose, was countermanded.

A subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds granted to the British parliament, was, however transmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a very seasonable supply, in the midst of her multiplied necessities⁵.

In the mean time the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under the mareschal Broglio, surprised the Imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube; and entering Upper-Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, the capital of that dutchy, where he received the homage of the states. From Lintz, several detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna; which being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble resistance against the victorious enemy. And many of those who were best acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, considered that city as already lost. The inhabitants took the alarm, and removed to places of greater safety their most valuable effects. The Danube was daily seen covered with boats, for this purpose; a great part of the suburbs was pulled down; and a summons was sent to Kevenhuller, the governor, to surrender the place.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archduchess, committing her desperate affairs to the care of her husband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Presburg in Hungary; where having assembled the states of that kingdom, she appeared before them with her eldest son, yet an infant, in her arms, and addressed them in a speech to the following purport: "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource left but in your fidelity and valour. On you alone I depend for relief; and into your hands I commit, with confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just cause." At once filled with rage and compassion at these affecting expressions of confidence, by so flat-

tering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young beautiful and heroic princess, in distress, the palatines drew their sabres, and exclaimed in a tone of enthusiasm, "We will die for our KING⁶, Maria-Theresa!" Nor was this a momentary start of passion. While with tears they swore to defend her, they published a manifesto against the elector of Bavaria; and by a solemn act of state, they gave a perpetual exclusion of him and his posterity from the throne of Hungary.

The Hungarian nobility were instantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of *father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had a garrison of twelve thousand: count Nuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thousand: the grand duke and his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain, who was the delight of the Austrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, and other general officers, were exerting themselves to the utmost in raising troops for the service of their mistress.

These powerful armies, the declining season, and the strength of the garrison of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ideas. Instead of investing that capital, he marched into Bohemia; and being there joined by twenty thousand Saxons, he laid siege to Prague. The place was stormed, and taken by the gallantry of the famous count Saxe, natural son of Augustus II. of Poland, who had already entered into the French service, and exhibited, on this occasion, a remarkable instance of his generosity and humanity. He not only saved the town from pillage, but the persons of the inhabitants from any violence or insult. And the elector of Bavaria, having been crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor under the name of Charles VII. and invested with the Imperial ensigns.

A.D. 1742.

JAN. 4.

6. So the Hungarians always call their sovereign, of whatever sex.

The *mareschal de Belleisle*, who made a splendid figure at this inauguration, seemed now in a fair way to complete his whole undertaking; more especially as he had found means to engage Sweden in a war with Russia, in order to prevent the empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, from aiding her sister sovereign. But events suddenly took a new direction in Germany, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see. In the mean time we must turn our attention toward the affairs of England; observing, in making this transition, that the war between Sweden and Russia was distinguished by no remarkable event, and soon terminated in an equitable peace.

The intimate connection between England and the house of Austria, since the revolution in 1738, cemented by the blood spilt during two long and desolating wars, in which the subjects of the two powers had greatly signalized themselves, by opposing the ambition of Lewis XIV. made the people consider this connection, and not altogether without reason, as essential to the preservation of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous usurpations of the house of Bourbon. The English nation, therefore, warmly espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary; and no sooner was it known that France, in violation of the Pragmatic sanction, had formed the project of dismembering the succession of Charles VI. and placing a creature of her own upon the Imperial throne, than the cry for war was loud, and for fulfilling to the utmost the treaties with the late emperor. The miscarriages in the West-Indies were forgot; the increase of taxes, which had lately occasioned so much clamour, was disregarded; and liberal subscriptions were opened, by private individuals, for the support of Maria-Theresa.

George II. who seemed only to value the British crown as it augmented his consequence in Germany, was sufficiently disposed to enter into these views; and although the imminent danger, to which his electoral dominions were exposed,

posed, induced him to submit to a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, that treaty did not affect him in his regal capacity. As king of Great-Britain, he might still assist the queen of Hungary; he might even, it was said, hire his electoral troops to fight the battles of Maria-Theresa. Of this he seemed convinced. But the leading members of the opposition in parliament had declaimed so long, and so eloquently, against continental connections, that a change in his ministry was judged necessary, before any effectual step could be taken.

Sir Robert Walpole, whose credit had been for some time on the decline, finding he could no longer serve his master to advantage, or secure a respectable majority in the house of commons, resigned his employments and was created earl of Oxford. Mr. Sandys, a sturdy patriot, who had distinguished himself by his perseverance in opposing the measures of the late minister, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of his political antagonist; the earl of Wilmington was placed at the head of the treasury; lord Carteret, the Cicero of the house of lords, was made secretary of state; and the eloquent and patriotic Mr. Pulteney, the most popular man in the kingdom, was restored to the dignity of a privy-counsellor, and soon after created earl of Bath. Other changes of less consequence took place.

From the new ministry the most popular measures were expected: nothing less was presumed on than a total renovation of the constitution. A number of motions to this purport was accordingly made in both houses of parliament; but to the astonishment of the nation, they were all violently opposed, and quashed, by the very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whose former speeches had suggested many of them. The most important of these motions were the following three: one for appointing a committee "to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the last twenty years:" one for bringing in a bill "to repeal the act for septennial parliaments;" and one for "excluding pensioners from the house of lords,"

lords," by an act of the whole legislature. In this ministerial opposition, Mr. Pulteney, immediately before he was created earl of Bath, and Mr. Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, particularly distinguished themselves in the house of commons, as did lord Carteret in the house of peers⁷.

The eyes of the people were now opened; and they discovered, that the men whom they had been accustomed to consider as incorruptible patriots, and who had so long distracted the councils of the nation with their thundering orations, were only the heads of an ambitious faction struggling for power, and ready, when gratified with a share in the honours and offices of the state, to espouse measures, and adopt maxims, which they had formerly reprobated, as big with ruin and disgrace. This political apostacy was no less observable in their conduct with respect to foreign than domestic affairs. Though German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connections, had been the constant objects of their indignation, while out of place, and had furnished them with the occasion of some of the finest strokes of their popular eloquence, the new ministry extended their complaisance to their sovereign in all these particulars, much farther than their execrated predecessors. Beside providing for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, they procured a vote of five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary; they augmented the land forces to sixty-two thousand five hundred men: they transported into the Low Countries sixteen thousand British troops, under the earl of Stair, to make a diversion in favour of Maria Theresa, even before they were assured of the concurrence of Holland; and they ordered those troops to be joined by six thousand Hessians, and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay. This army, however, after much idle parade, went into winter-quarters, without performing any thing

7. *Parl. Debates*, 1742.

of consequence; the earl of Stair being employed during the greater part of the summer in fruitless negotiations with the Dutch, in order to induce them to fulfil their engagements with the late emperor⁸. The campaign was more active in Germany.

The good fortune of the elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the Imperial throne. The very day that he was elected emperor, under the pompous name of Charles VII. he received an account of the loss of Lintz, the capital of Upper-Austria, though defended by a garrison of ten thousand French troops. Kevenhuller, the Austrian general, who had performed this important service, having dislodged the French from all the strong holds of that country, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions; defeated mareschal Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich, the capital of Bavaria. In the mean time prince Lobkowitz, with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, advanced against the Prussians and Saxons, who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation, on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken.

The retreat of the Prussians and Saxons was considered as an event of great importance by the Austrians, as it seemed to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglio, who were too strong for prince Lobkowitz singly. But the active and enterprising king of Prussia, having received a reinforcement of thirty thousand men under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, marched to the assistance of his allies in Bohemia. By his expedition and generalship, he arrived before the intended junction could be formed; and, in order to prevent it, he gave battle to prince Charles of Lorraine at Czaslaw. The disciplined

8. Smollett.

troops on both sides were nearly equal; but the Austrians had the advantage of a large body of barbarous irregulars, Croats, Pandours, Talpaches, who engaged with incredible fury⁹. The Prussians were broken: the king left the field; and a total defeat must have ensued, had not the lust of plunder seized the Austrian irregulars at the sight of the Prussian baggage. Their example infected the regulars of the Austrian right wing, who also gave over the pursuit. The Prussian infantry seized this opportunity to rally: they returned to the charge; and after an obstinate dispute, broke the main body of the Austrian army, and obliged prince Charles to retire with the loss of five thousand men.

The king of Prussia, whose loss was little inferior to that of the Austrians, sick of such bloody victories, and having some reason to suspect the sincerity of the court of France, began to turn his thoughts towards peace; and, no less politic than brave, he concluded at Breslaw, JUNE 11. without consulting his allies, an advantageous treaty with the queen of Hungary. By this treaty the archduchess, Maria-Theresa, ceded to Frederic III. the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within sixteen days after the signing of the articles. A treaty of peace was also concluded, nearly at the same time, between the queen of Hungary and Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; by which she yielded to him certain places in the circles of Elbogen, Saltzer, Leutmeritz, and Buntzlau in Bohemia. And he guaranteed to her the possession of the rest of that kingdom¹⁰.

Upon the court of France, like a clap of thunder, came the intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw: and the news

9. The *Croats* are the militia of Croatia. The *Pandours* are Slavonians, who inhabit the confines of the Drave and Save: they wear a long cloak, carry several pistols in their girdle, and use beside a sabre and poinard.—The *Talpaches* are a sort of Hungarian infantry, armed with a musquet, two pistols and a sword.

10. Millet. Voltaire. Smollett.

which followed it did not contribute to alleviate the consternation occasioned by that blow. The mareschals Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves, in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the winding of the river Moldaw; while the prince of Lorrain, having formed a junction with the Austrian army under Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Grisnitz.

Finding themselves surrounded by superior forces, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and all the other places which they held in Bohemia, provided they were permitted to retreat with their arms, ammunition and baggage. This proposal, though highly reasonable, was haughtily rejected by the queen of Hungary, who insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. Belleisle, who had assumed the command in Prague, treated the imperious demand with disdain; assuring his master, that he apprehended nothing from the enemy but famine. And the Austrian generals, though less skilful than brave, made him sensible that their approaches were not to be slighted. By cutting off his supplies, they reduced him to the greatest necessities, while they wasted and harassed his troops by perpetual assaults.

To permit the surrender of so fine an army, was deemed inconsistent with the honour and glory of the French nation as well as with its interest. Mareschal Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, had therefore orders to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty-two thousand men. When he arrived at Amberg, in the circle of Westphalia, he was joined by thirty thousand French and Imperialists from Bavaria, under Seckendorff and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without resistance. Apprised of his danger, the prince of Lorrain turned the siege of Prague into a blockade,

ade, the care of which he committed to general Festitz, with eighteen thousand men, and advanced with the main body of his army toward the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppose Maillebois. At Hayd he was joined by the grand Austrian army under Kevenhuller, who had followed count Saxe and Seckendorff from Bavaria. Meanwhile the mareschals Belleisle and Broglio had formed the design of joining the French army under Maillebois; and Festitz being too weak to oppose them, they broke out of Prague, and marched to Leutmerits. Maillebois was then in the neighbourhood of Egra; so that a OCT. 7. junction seemed by no means impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, utterly defeated their scheme. Maillebois was under the necessity of returning to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and harassed on his march by the prince of Lorrain; while prince Lobkowitz, with a strong detachment, obliged Belleisle, and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

Soon after the siege of this important place was resumed Broglio made his escape in disguise, and took upon him the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled; so that the fate of Prague, toward which the eyes of all Europe were now turned, rested solely on the courage and conduct of Belleisle and the small remains of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All prospect of relief was cut off: a retreat seemed impracticable; and famine, accompanied with disease, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havock among the French troops. The intrepid spirit of Belleisle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itself to both his officers and soldiers, and few days passed without sallies, in which the French had generally the advantage.

These sallies being chiefly occasioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Austrian magazines in the neighbourhood of Prague, prince Lobkowitz, who conducted the

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the blockade of that city, ordered them to be guarded by the flower of his army, in hopes that famine would soon compel the enemy to surrender at discretion. Now it was that Belleisle made known the resources of his genius. Having secretly formed the design of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them out every day to forage. At last, by making in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot and three thousand horse, and got a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy he left a small garrison in that city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with snow, the cold excessively intense; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. Under all these disadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. And with so much judgment had he planned his rout, that although the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had never perhaps before been trod by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his coach or sedan by a violent rheumatism. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season¹¹.

We must now turn our attention toward Italy, where the war raged, during this campaign, with no less violence than in Germany.

I have already had occasion to observe, that on the death of the emperor Charles VI. the king of Spain put in a

11. Ibid.

claim to the whole Austrian succession, and that the king of Sardinia revived one to the duchy of Milan. Both afterward thought proper to moderate their pretensions.—The Spanish monarch seemed disposed to be satisfied with the Austrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Don Philip, his second son by the princess of Parma; and his Sardinian majesty alarmed by the encroachments of the house of Bourbon, entered into an alliance with the queen of Hungary and the king of Great-Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy, and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions, though without absolutely renouncing his antiquated claim to the duchy of Milan. All the other Italian powers affected, from fear, to remain neutral; so that, when a body of Spanish troops, under the duke de Montemar, were landed on the coast of Tuscany, toward the end of the year 1741, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, whose territories they came to invade, permitted them to pass through his dominions. The Genoese shewed no less complaisance to another body of Spanish troops: the Venetians issued a declaration to the same purpose, and the pope, as the common father of Christendom, wisely permitted both parties to take refuge alternately in the ecclesiastical state, and treated both with equal cordiality. Don Carlos, king of the Two Sicilies, also declared himself neutral, though resolved to abet the claims of his family to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. But the appearance of an English squadron before his capital, which could soon have been laid in ashes, obliged him to submit, for a time, to a real neutrality, as unnatural as that of the grand duke.

This transaction, and others connected with it, were attended with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail; more especially as they lead us into the line of the naval operations of Great-Britain in Europe.

Admiral Haddock had cruised in the Mediterranean with a strong fleet, ever since the breaking out of the war
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with Spain; and sir John Norris had repeatedly threatened the coasts of that kingdom, with a powerful armament, without performing any thing of consequence. At length admiral Haddock seemed to have an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and effectually serving his country.—As he lay at Gibraltar, with fourteen stout ships, he was informed, that a Spanish fleet of twelve sail of the line, commanded by don Joseph Navarro, with two hundred transports, and fifteen thousand land forces on board, under the duke de Montemar, had passed the Straits in the night. He immediately stood to sea. He came up with the enemy, and was preparing to engage, when a French squadron, from Toulon, stood in between the hostile fleets with a flag of truce: and the commander sent a message to the English admiral, that the French and Spaniards being engaged in a joint expedition, he was under the necessity of acting in concert with his master's allies. This unexpected interposition prevented an engagement, and the Spanish admiral proceeded with his convoy¹².

Worn out with years, and chagrined by repeated disappointments, Haddock resigned the command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean to rear-admiral Lestock, who was soon joined by seven ships of the line, under vice-admiral Matthews, a brave and able officer. Beside being appointed commander in chief on that station, Matthews was vested with full powers to treat with all the princes and states of Italy, as his Britannic majesty's minister.—In this double capacity, he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by sea and land; and understanding that a body of the troops of the king of the Two Sicilies had, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, joined the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, he sent commodore Martin with an English squadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unless the king would

12. Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. viii. Smollett, vol. xi.

withdraw his troops, and sign a promise that they should not act in conjunction with Spain during the continuance of the war. The inhabitants of Naples were thrown into the utmost consternation at this unexpected visit; and the king, being sensible that his capital, naturally much exposed by its ascending situation, was not in a state of defence, thought proper to comply with the conditions. He at first called an extraordinary council, which held several consultations, without coming to any fixed resolution. At length the British commodore, who had dropped anchor before the town at four in the afternoon, by a noble boldness, put an end to farther hesitation. On receiving an ambiguous answer, he pulled out his watch, and fixing it to the main-mast, sternly replied, that the council must come to a final determination within an hour, otherwise he should be obliged to execute his orders, which were absolute. The king's promise of neutrality was immediately sent, and the English fleet left the bay before midnight¹³. History affords few instances of such decision and dispatch in affairs of equal importance.

As a prelude to the signing of this forced neutrality, which totally disconcerted the schemes of the court of Madrid, the Spanish army, under the duke de Montemar, had been obliged to retreat toward the frontiers of Naples, before the king of Sardinia, and count Traun, the Austrian general. Meanwhile, Don Philip, third son of his catholic majesty, and for whose aggrandisement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with another Spanish army, which he had led through France, and soon made himself master of that whole duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, and anxious for the safety of his more valuable dominions, the king of Sardinia returned with his forces to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards in vain attempted to enter. And count Traun found himself sufficiently strong, after the king of the two Sicilies had withdrawn his troops, to maintain his

13. Ibid.

ground, during the remainder of the campaign, against the Spanish army under the count de Gages, who was sent to supersede the duke de Montemar¹⁴.

The Spaniards, in a word, had little reason to boast of their success in Italy; where their armies were reduced to great distress, by the vigilance of the British fleet in cutting off their supplies. The queen of Hungary, now all victorious in Germany, was in possession of the territories of the emperor Charles VII. so that the French, heartily tired of supporting that prince, in whose cause they had lost above a hundred thousand men, A. D. 1743. made at last proposals of peace, on equitable, or rather humiliating terms. This condescension was the more remarkable, as the councils of the court of Versailles were no longer influenced by the mild spirit of cardinal Fleury. He had died at a very advanced age, in the beginning of the present year.

But Maria-Theresa, elated with her unexpected success, and rendered confident by the support of so powerful an ally as the king of Great-Britain, haughtily rejected all pacific propositions; while lord Carteret, the new prime minister of George II. who had formerly declaimed with so much violence against continental connections, could now see nothing but triumphs to be acquired in Flanders, though the Dutch had not yet engaged to take part in the war. He therefore urged the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. In vain did the popular party in parliament reply, that this balance was no longer in danger; that the queen of Hungary herself was now sufficiently strong to protect all her dominions; that she had only to restore peace to Germany, in order to be enabled to drive the Spaniards out of Italy; and that England, instead of rousing the jealousy of other states, by lavishing its blood and treasure in feeding the pride of an ambitious woman, ought to direct all its force against

¹⁴ Millot. Voltaire.

Spain, the only power with whom it was actually at war, and in whose humiliation it was particularly interested⁵. These arguments were not attended to. The king of Great-Britain was fired with the thirst of military glory: and the king of France, finding that peace could not be obtained for the emperor, made preparations for prosecuting the war with vigour.

In the meantime the queen of Hungary's good fortune continued to attend her. Prince Charles of Lorraine having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Bavaria, defeated the Imperialists with great slaughter near Braunaw, and took possession of their camp; while prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper-Palatinate. These two generals afterward obliged mareschal Broglio to abandon a strong camp which he occupied at Plading, on the Danube, and to retire with hurry and precipitation toward the Rhine; the Austrian irregulars harassing him on his march, and cutting off great numbers of his troops. When he reached Donawert, he was joined by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men under count Saxe: yet he did not think proper to hazard an engagement, his main body being almost ruined. He retreated before prince Charles to Hailbron; and the emperor, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and stript of his dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity⁶.

The operations on the side of Flanders, during this campaign, were still more important, though less decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the earl of Stair, and the Austrians, under the duke d'Aremberg, having begun their march from the Low-Countries, with an intention of entering Germany as early as the beginning of March, the king of France ordered the duke de Noailles to assemble a powerful army on the Maine, to prevent the allies from joining the prince of Lorraine; while

15. *Parl. Debates*, 1742.

16. Millot. *Voltaire*.

he sent another army under the mareschal de Coigny, into Alsace, in order to oppose that prince, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. Having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles passed the Rhine, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced toward him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Maine and the forest of D'Armstadt. From this situation he moved to Aschaffenburg, with a view of securing the navigation of the Upper-Maine, which was necessary for the conveyance of forage and provision from Franconia. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the enemy; Noailles, who was posted on the opposite side of the river, having already got possession of the principal posts, so as to cut off all supplies¹⁷.

The king of Great-Britain, attended by his second son the duke of Cumberland, and his minister lord Carteret, arrived on the 19th of June in the camp of the allies at Aschaffenburg; where he found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, eager for battle, but in great want of provisions. The French general, in a word, had taken his measures so wisely, that it was thought the allies must be forced to surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. A retreat, however, was resolved upon, both as necessary to procure subsistence, and to form a junction with a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, that had reached Hanau, and was in danger of being cut off. The troops were accordingly ordered to strike their tents, and to

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begin their march by break of day. Their dangerous route lay between a mountain and the river Maine, over which the French had been unaccountably permitted to erect several bridges. The allies were annoyed in their march by the enemy's cannon on the opposite banks; and the French general, marching part of the main body of his

¹⁷ *Mém. de Noaille*, tom. iv

army which consisted of about sixty thousand men, over the bridges, took possession of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allied army, while in their rear a detachment occupied Aschaffenburg, which they had abandoned.

Having made these dispositions, which he flattered himself would oblige the allies to attack the French under great disadvantage, the duke de Noailles repassed the Maine, in order the better to observe the motions of the hostile armies, and to bring forward the remainder of his forces. Meanwhile the duke de Grammont, his nephew and lieutenant-general, who was stationed at Dettingen with thirty thousand choice troops, and all the young generals and princes of the blood, eager to engage, passed the defile behind which they were posted, and advanced into a small plain, called the Cock-field, where the allies had formed themselves in order of battle. Noailles, who was still on the other side of the river, beheld this motion with grief and astonishment, and made all the haste possible to form a new disposition. But he came too late to repair the mistake that had been committed; for although the French charged with great impetuosity, and the household troops put the Austrian cavalry into disorder, the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign (who rode between the lines with his sword drawn,) stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire, which nothing could resist. These impenetrable battalions, however, by a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, led by the nobility and princes of the blood, who rushed on in desperation, opened their lines, and afterward closing again, made great havock in that gallant body.— Terror now seized the whole French army, every one crying, “Save himself, who can!” so that the duke de Noailles, found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, with the loss of five thousand men²³. Had he been hotly pursued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete, and the defeat of

23. *Mém. de Noailles*, tom. iv. Voltaire. Tindal. Smollett.

the French total. The earl of Stair proposed such a measure; but his master, George II. happy in having bravely extricated himself from one imminent danger, did not chuse to run the hazard of another. He was afraid of an ambuscade. His troops had received little sustenance for some days: they were come off a fatiguing march, they had been many hours under arms; and the enemy had still a superior army, and a great train of artillery, it was said, to dispute the passage of the river.

These military considerations are sufficient to account for the caution of the king of Great-Britain, whose loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to full three thousand men, without the intervention of invidious political motives. And it must be admitted, even by those who blame his conduct, and think the French might have been totally routed in their first confusion, that the circumstance of his being only an ally, and not a principal in the war, was a strong argument for his not risking too much. Happy had it been for his kingdom, if the same prudence had restrained him from taking so active a part in a quarrel, in which he was not immediately interested! He dined on the field of battle, and in the evening prosecuted his march to Hanau; recommending his sick and wounded to the care of the duke de Noailles, who treated them with humanity and tenderness²⁴.

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24. The character of Adrian Maurice, duke de Noailles, and mareschal of France, who united the talents of the consummate general to those of the able statesman, at the same time that he successfully cultivated literature, and acquired the reputation of a good citizen, is one of the most amiable and exalted of the age in which he lived. He enjoyed in a very high degree the confidence of Lewis XV. and delivered his sentiments to his sovereign, in a variety of letters and memorials on the most important subjects, with an honest freedom that is perhaps unexampled in a subject and a courtier. (See *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, &c. composees sur les pieces originales, recueillies par. Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, mareschal de France & ministre d'Etat, par. M. l'Abbe Millot, tom. iii. iv.*) Setting aside other instances, nothing can shew in a stronger light the magnanimity and disinterestedness of the duke de Noailles, than his recommending to the king count Saxe, as the person in his service

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The allied army was no sooner joined by the expected reinforcement at Hanau, than the earl of Stair proposed, that, as the numbers on both sides were nearly equal, the French should be attacked by passing the Maine. But to the surprise of all Europe, no such attempt was made. The king of Great-Britain, flattered with humiliating proposals of peace from the emperor, became every day more irresolute. Even after the retreat of the duke de Noailles, who was under the necessity of marching to the assistance of mareschal Coigny, in Upper-Alsace, which was threatened by prince Charles of Lorraine, no effort was made to disperse or destroy the body of observation left under count Saxe; and although the allied army was reinforced with twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries in the month of September, it was early distributed into ^{OCT. 14.} winter-quarters, without doing any thing of consequence after the victory of Dettingen.

The earl of Stair was so much dissatisfied with this inaction, that he resigned in disgust; and the duke de Noailles, who had apprehended the greatest disasters, unacquainted with the restraints imposed upon the British commander, felicitated his master, with that modesty which is peculiar to real merit, that he had not to deal with an Eugene, a Marlborough, or a Staremberg, otherwise the issue of the campaign must have been very different²⁵. Noailles effectually defeated the designs of Prince Charles upon Alsace; but he could not prevent Mentzel, the famous partizan, from making an irruption, with four thousand Austrian irregulars, into Lorraine and Luxemburg, where he committed terrible depredations.

most capable of repairing the misfortunes of France. Experience has proved, that the justness of his discernment was equal to the uprightness of his intentions; and degenerate ages must contemplate with astonishment, a courtier who dared to speak truth to his prince, a statesman whose supreme object was the good of his country, and a general whose soul was superior to jealousy.

25. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

The campaign in Italy was not more active or decisive, though its beginning promised the most vigorous exertions. Count de Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the province of Bologna, passing the Parano in the beginning of February, attacked the Austrian and Piedmontese forces, under count Traun, at Campo-Santo, where a desperate battle was fought, but without any decided advantage, both sides claiming the victory. Gages, however, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Parano; and his army being much weakened by desertion, he abandoned the city of Bologna, and marched to Rimini, in the province of Romagna. He there fortified his camp, and remained unmolested till the month of October, when prince Lobkowitz, having succeeded count Traun in the command of the Austrian army, entered Romagna, and obliged the Spanish general to retreat to Fano. Gages afterward took post at Pesaro, fortifying the passes of the river Foglia.

The season was so far in the decline, before the Spanish army under Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action, that the campaign on the side of Piedmont was distinguished by no important event. This inaction was occasioned by a secret negociation between the house of Bourbon and the king of Sardinia; and notwithstanding the encomiums that have been paid to the fidelity of that prince, he would have entered into the views of France and Spain, if they had complied with his demands, or if the queen of Hungary had not agreed to more advantageous terms than they were willing to grant²⁶.

These negociations produced the famous treaty of Worms; by which his Sardinian majesty renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and guaranteed anew the pragmatic sanction. The queen of Hungary, beside relinquishing in his favour all title to the town and marquisate of Final, then possessed by the republic of Genoa, but on which she had some claims, agreed to put him in posses-

tion of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Tessin, and to cede to him the towns of Placentia and Bombio, with all the territory from the source of the Nura to the lake of Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiss Cantons²⁷. She farther engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy, as soon as the situation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king of Sardinia, on condition of his receiving from Great-Britain an annual subsidy of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, obliged himself to keep up an army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse²⁸.

This treaty, which dissipated all hopes of peace, and the haughty behaviour of the queen of Hungary, who, not only refused to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria and the Upper-Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia, produced a great change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria was revived, and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the Imperial dignity in the person of Charles VII. now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in favour of the head of the empire, whose misfortunes had awakened their compassion. The court of Versailles, ever watchful, encouraged these new dispositions²⁹; and a secret negociation was successfully begun with the emperor, the elector Palatine, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, who was become sensible, that unless a check was given to the growing power of Maria-Theresa, he must soon be stript of all his late conquests.

The issue of that negociation, which was conducted by Chevigny, the French minister at the Imperial court, or

27. Tindal's *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

28. *Id. ibid.*

29. *Mem. de Noailles*, *ubi sup.*

rather asylum, in Frankfort, we shall afterward have occasion to notice. In the meantime a family-compact, OCT. 25. or perpetual alliance and mutual guarantee of possessions and claims, was formed between France and Spain at Fontainebleau³⁰; and the greatest preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour both by sea and land. Twenty thousand French troops, under the prince of Conti, were ordered to join Don Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanish squadrons at Toulon were commanded to act in concert, and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. If successful, they were to join the Brest fleet, and having established a superiority in the channel, to assist at a projected invasion of England.

That enterprise which had for its remote object, the re-establishment of the house of Stuart, was more immediately planned with a view of obliging the king of Great-Britain to recal his troops from the continent, and apply his attention to the defence of his own dominions, instead of engaging in the support of foreign powers. A correspondence was accordingly entered into with the English and Scottish jacobites, who readily offered their assistance, and magnified the public discontents, at the same time that they endeavoured to inflame them. The real discontents, however, were very great. The people were enraged at the mysterious inaction of the last campaign, which they justly ascribed to the influence of German councils, and the political situation of George II. as elector of Hanover. Nor were they less dissatisfied at the prospect of the continuance of a bloody and expensive war, in which Great-Britain was likely to become a principal instead of an ally, after an honourable peace might have been concluded with the emperor, and the queen of Hungary secured in the full possession of all the Austrian dominions in Germany, except

30. One of the principal articles of this treaty was, that no peace should be concluded till Gibraltar was restored to Spain. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.)

31. Millot. Voltaire.

Silesia, which she had ceded to the king of Prussia. An universal disgust prevailed against the measures of the court.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the small number of troops in England, and the assurances of a powerful support from the jacobites, and even a general revolt in favour of the pretender, Lewis XV. entered seriously into the views of the cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterprise, and the highest hopes were entertained of its success. Tencin was warmly attached to the Stuart family, by whose interest he had been raised to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French administration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of shewing his gratitude to his friends, and at the same time of serving his master, by giving a new king to Great-Britain.

Nor did such a revolution seem impossible, with the force that was prepared, to those who were best acquainted with the situation of this kingdom, if France had possessed the sovereignty of the sea. An army of fifteen thousand men was assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; and a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldest son of the chevalier de St. George, and to whom that prince had delegated A.D. 1744. his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the JANUARY. French camp. A descent was to be made on the coast of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line from Brest and Rochfort, sailed exultingly up the channel, in order to protect the transports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thousand men were embarked, and the first division of the transports put to sea; but a sudden storm arising they were all driven back upon the French coast. Many of them were shattered; some of the largest, with all the men, were lost; and a superior English fleet, commanded by sir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to make the best of his way to Brest³²: so that the young

32. *Contin. of Rapin, ubi sup.* Smollet, vol. xi.

pretender,

pretender, after having a sight of the promised land, found himself under the necessity of waiting for a more favourable opportunity, to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors.

The alarm occasioned by this formidable, though abortive enterprise, united the whigs in the firm support of government. They were made sensible, that their opposition to certain unpopular measures, and their political jealousies of each other, had been represented by the enemies of Great-Britain as a proof of their dislike to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of success in the projected invasion, chiefly on the division among the friends of the protestant succession. This appeared by a letter which he wrote to John duke of Argyle, an inconsistent but zealous whig, whom the jacobites supposed ready for a revolt, on account of the violence of his speeches in parliament, and to whom the pretender desired to dictate his own terms³³. But that harmony was of short duration. The intelligence which soon arrived of a naval engagement in the Mediterranean, and the judicial proceedings relative to it, gave rise to new divisions and discontents.

In consequence of the late alliance between France and Spain, concluded at Fontainbleau, the admirals of their combined fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, resolved to give battle to that of England, by which they had been blocked up, and which prevented them from carrying provisions or military stores to the Spanish armies in Italy. The Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, consisted of sixteen sail of the line, though twelve only were fully manned; and the French squadron, under M. de Court, of fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships. The British fleet, commanded by the admirals Matthews and Lestock, were superior in force, but less fit for action, as the ships had

33. Id. *ibid.*

been long at sea. It consisted of twenty-eight sail of the line, six ships of fifty guns, four frigates, and two fire-ships. And if a misunderstanding had not prevailed between the admirals, the combined fleet must have been utterly ruined.

Matthews, who lay in the bay of Hieres, no sooner perceived the enemy leave the road of Toulon than he weighed anchor and bore down upon them. They did not decline the combat; and a desperate battle ensued, in which the British admiral behaved with great gallantry.

But he was ill supported by his captains, and FEB. 11.

Lestock, with his whole division, remained all the time at a distance; so that the contest was long doubtful, and the most vigorous exertions only could have saved the ships that were engaged from being taken or destroyed. Victory, however, at last declared in favour of Matthews. The combined fleet, after an action of six hours, was obliged to retreat, with the loss of one ship of the line, named the *Poder*³⁴. The Royal Philip, another disabled ship, might also, it is supposed, have been taken, had the English admiral continued the chase; but his orders to guard the coast of Italy being positive, he did not think himself at liberty to neglect that important object, and run the hazard of being drawn down the straits, for the precarious possibility of making a single prize, all the other ships of the enemy sailing too fast to leave him any hope of coming up with them³⁵.

The loss of so favourable an opportunity of breaking the naval power of the house of Bourbon occasioned the loudest complaints in England, and the failure of the British fleet to destroy that of the enemy, became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. From a committee of the house of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of misbehaviour, and subjected to different degrees of punishment; but, to the astonishment of the

34. Smollet, vol. xi. *Contin. of Rapa*, vol. ix.

35. See the *Defence* made by Matthews on his trial.

public, admiral Lestock was fully acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy!—Though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Lestock, by keeping aloof, when he had it in his power to engage, was not only the cause of the miscarriage complained of, but of exposing the British fleet to the most imminent danger, in order to gratify his vindictive spirit; while Matthews, rushing into the hottest of the enemy's fire, fought like a hero, and discovered a noble zeal for the service of his king and country³⁶. Such ridiculous things, as experience has since repeatedly proved, are courts-martial in factious times!

Before these judicial proceedings were finished, mutual MARCH declarations of war had been issued by the kings of 20...31. France and England, who thenceforth became in some measure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Versailles having issued a declaration of war also against her Hungarian majesty. Lewis XV. accused George II. of having violated the neutrality of Hanover, of dissuading the queen of Hungary from coming to an accommodation with the emperor, and of blocking up the ports and disturbing the commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the pragmatic sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, both secretly and openly, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the pretender, contrary to the most solemn engagements, furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great-Britain; and of committing actual hostilities on the British fleet in the Mediterranean³⁷. Both parties had formed the most sanguine, and not ill-grounded hopes of success: the king of Great-Britain on the valour

36. Compare the *Trials* of Matthews and Lestock.

37. Printed *Declarations of War*.

of his troops, the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the house of Bourbon on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the vast preparations they had made for prosecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low-Countries.

The campaign in Italy was early begun on the side of Piedmont. Don Philip being joined by twenty thousand French troops under the prince of Conti, passed the river Var, which descends from the Alps, ^{MARCH 31.} and falls into the sea of Genoa, a little below the city of Nice. The whole county of Nice submitted. But before the confederates could advance farther, they had to force the Piedmontese entrenchments at Villa-Franca, and afterwards to reduce the castle of Montauban, situated among rocks, which form a chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not without great loss³⁸. Their intention was, to penetrate into the duchy of Milan through the Genoese territories; a measure that would have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. Admiral Matthews, who had by this time returned to the coast of Italy, therefore sent a spirited message to the senate of Genoa, declaring, that if the confederate army was suffered to pass through the dominions of the republic, he must consider it as a breach of her neutrality, and would be under the necessity of immediately commencing hostilities against her subjects.

Alarmed at this threat, the Genoese, though secretly in the interest of the house of Bourbon, prevailed with Don Philip and the prince of Conti to chuse another route. They accordingly defiled off toward Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the strong post of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after a desperate attack, in which the officers

38. Voltaire. Millot.

and soldiers of the two confederate, yet rival nations, performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the French," said the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Don Philip, "but we cannot behave better." "This has been," says the prince of Conti, in a letter to Lewis XV. "one of the most hot and brilliant actions that ever happened: the troops have shewn a courage more than human³⁹. The valour and presence of mind of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the advantage. I recommend to you M. de Solemi and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte is killed. Your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, will feel how much I am affected by his loss⁴⁰!" History records with particular pleasure such expressions of generosity and sympathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince of Conti to the bosom of Lewis XV. is equally elegant and emphatic.

After losing the important pass of Chateau-Dauphin, and another called the Barricades, which was carried at the same time, the king of Sardinia, not being in a condition to hazard a battle, drew off his troops and artillery from the frontiers, in order to cover his capital. He took post at Saluzzo, about seventeen miles south of Turin; while the confederates, having made themselves masters of the castle of Demont, situated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, invested the strong town of Coni, the possession of which was necessary to open them a passage into the duchy of Milan. Meantime the king of Sardinia, being reinforced by a body of ten thousand Austrians, under Palavicini, resolved to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly advanced, with a superior force, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But, after an ob-

39. They had the boldness to clamber up rocks of an incredible height mounted with cannon, and to pass through the embrasures, when the guns recoiled.

40. Voltaire. Millot.

stinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conspicuous on both sides, he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men, to his camp in the valley of Murasso. The loss of the confederates was little inferior. And his Sardinian majesty having found means to reinforce the garrison of Coni, and also to convey into the town a supply of provisions, Don Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raise the siege, after it had been continued till the end of November, to the almost total ruin of their army. Having destroyed the fortifications of Demont, in their retreat, they repassed the mountains, utterly evacuating Piedmont, and took up their winter-quarters in Dauphiny⁴¹. But the Spaniards still continued in possession of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy.

The campaign in the south of Italy, was also distinguished by a diversity of fortune. His Sicilian majesty having, in violation of his forced neutrality, joined the Spanish army under the count de Gages, with twenty-five thousand of his own troops, prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian general, had orders to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left Monte-Rotondo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he was encamped, and advanced toward Velitri, near which the confederates were posted. While the two armies lay in sight of each other, prince Lobkowitz sent a strong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, where they distributed a manifesto, in the name of her Hungarian majesty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves again under the protection of the house of Austria. That measure, however, was attended with very little success, the Neapolitans shewing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz, therefore, collected his forces, and resolved to make an attack upon the head-quarters of the confederates at Velitri. This enterprize he committed

41. Voltaire. Millot. Smollett. *Contin. of Rabin*, vol. ix. The two last volumes of this Continuation were written by the late Mr. Guthrie, though they bear the name of Tindal.

to count Brown, an able and active general, whom I shall afterward have occasion frequently to mention, and in order to render the design successful, he amused the enemy with ambiguous motions.

In the meantime count Brown, at the head of six thousand choice troops, surprised Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the two Sicilies were in the utmost danger of being made prisoners. They escaped with difficulty to the quarters of the count de Gages, who performed on this occasion, the part of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, removed the panic which had begun to prevail in the camp, and made a masterly disposition for cutting off the communication of the detachment of the enemy with their main body. Count Brown, therefore, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, and seeing no prospect of assistance, thought proper to attempt a retreat. That he effected with great gallantry, carrying away a prodigious booty.

Three thousand of the Spaniards and Neapolitans are said to have been killed in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken, together with many standards, colours, and other military trophies. The Austrians lost only about six hundred men; but the failure of the enterprize, and the heats of autumn proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz seeing his army daily moulder-

ing away, without the possibility of being re-
 NOV. 2. cruited, decamped from Fiola; and passing the Tyber at Ponte-Molle, anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him, when the enemy's vanguard appeared, he crossed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory, where he went into winter-quarters⁴².

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more successful in Germany and the Low-Countries. But considering the unexpected confederacy that was formed

42. Id. *ibid*.

against them, and the inferiority of their generals, they had little reason to complain of fortune. The negotiations at Frankfort being brought to an issue, a treaty was there concluded, through the influence of France, between the emperor and the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector Palatine. The declared object of this treaty was to restore the Imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging either to persuade or oblige the queen of Hungary to acknowledge the title of Charles VII. to give up the archives of the empire still in her possession, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Austrian succession to be settled by a friendly compromise, or juridical decision. So far the confederacy seemed laudable. But, by a separate article, which breathed a very different spirit, the king of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper-Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Koningsgratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Koningsgratz to the confines of Saxony. The king of Prussia, however, by previous agreement, and a separate treaty with the court of Versailles, was not obliged to take up arms, until he should see France act with vigour⁴³.

In order to procure the ready co-operation of this politic, ambitious, and powerful prince, Lewis XV. put himself at the head of his army in Flanders, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men, as early as the season would permit, and invested Menin. The duke de Noailles, and the celebrated count Saxe, now a mareschal of France, commanded under him, and carried every thing before them. Menin surrendered in seven days. Ypres, fort Knocke, and Furnes, were reduced with almost equal

43. *Mem. de Noailles, tom. iv.*

facility. And the king of France entered Dunkirk in triumph, while the allied army, to the number of seventy thousand men, unable to obstruct his progress, continued posted behind the Scheld.

But Lewis XV. was soon obliged to quit this scene of conquest, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions. Having received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine, and entered Alsace at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, he dispatched the duke de Noailles with forty thousand choice troops, to join the *mareschal de Coigni*, who commanded in that province, while he himself followed with a farther reinforcement; leaving *mareschal Saxe*, with the remainder of his army, to oppose the allies in Flanders⁴⁴. And the masterly movements of that consummate general, together with the want of concert between the Austrian and English commanders, *d'Aremberg* and *Wade*, prevented them from gaining any advantage during the campaign though now greatly superior in force.

Before the duke de Noailles could form a junction with *Coigni*, the prince of Lorraine had taken *Weissenburg*, and laid all Lower-Alsace under contribution. At Metz the king of France was seized with a fever, which threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. Meanwhile prince Charles having got information that the king of Prussia had entered Bohemia, repassed the Rhine in sight of a superior army, and hastened to the relief of that kingdom. Lewis XV. after his recovery, laid siege to *Friburg*; and the reduction of this important place by the famous engineer count *Louendahl*, who had entered into the French service, concluded the business of the campaign on the side of Alsace.

The king of Prussia, on taking up arms, published a manifesto, in which he declared, That he could no longer remain an idle spectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himself obliged to make use of force, to restore the

power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he desired nothing for himself, had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and had only entered into the war as an auxiliary, in order to assert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquish his claims on the Austrian succession, provided his hereditary dominions were restored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable proposals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and all Bohemia to the east of Moldaw. But these conquests were of short duration. Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, animated by a British subsidy, ordered sixteen thousand men to join the prince of Lorrain. He was also joined by a large body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, Maria-Theresa, who had acquired by her popular manner⁴⁵, as well as her indulgences both civil and religious, an extraordinary interest in their affections; so that the king of Prussia, unable to withstand so great a force, was obliged DECEMBER. to evacuate Bohemia, and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued thither by prince Charles; and the rigour of the season, only, perhaps, prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians in their retreat, lost above thirty thousand men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, and waggon, loaded with provisions and plunder.

45. To old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had, on this occasion, caused the red standard of the kingdom to be displayed, as a signal for every man who could bear arms to turn out, she wrote the following letter, accompanied with a present of her own horse, richly caparisoned, a gold-hilted sword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

“ Father Palfy !

“ I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted only by the most zealous of my faithful subjects. Receive, at the same time, this sword, to defend me against mine enemies; and accept of this ring, as a mark of my affection for you.”

“ MARIA-THERESA.”

While

While the high minded Frederic III. was experiencing this sudden reverse of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. got once more possession of his capital. Seckendorff, the Imperial general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Prussians, and the rapid progress of the prince of Lorrain, filled the emperor with new apprehensions: and he was in danger of being a third time chased from his dominions, when death came to his relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguish of a wounded spirit. His son, Maximilian Joseph, being only seventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the Imperial throne. He therefore, very wisely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty, notwithstanding all the intrigues of France, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to strip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria-Theresa agreed to recognize the Imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of Charles VII. and to put his son in possession of all his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession; consented to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, engaged to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service⁴⁶.

This treaty it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification; as the cause of the war in Germany no longer existed; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpose of which was the support of the Imperial dignity, had now no object. The queen of Hungary, to procure peace, and the vote of Brandenburg for her husband would readily have agreed to confirm the treaty of Breslaw; and the king of Prussia, after his severe losses, could have required nothing more for himself than the

46. See the treaty in Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin's Hist. of England*, vol. xi.

undisputed possession of Silesia. But the court of France, which had begun the war out of policy, instigated and pensioned by that of Spain, resolved to continue it from passion; and his Britannic majesty was too intimately connected with the queen of Hungary, as well as too highly interested in preserving the balance of Europe to desert his allies at such a crisis.

The marquis d'Argenson, the French minister for war, who had at this time great influence in the cabinet, declared that France, having undertaken to give a head to the Germanic body, ought to hazard the last soldier, rather than suffer the grand duke to be elected emperor. The court of Versailles accordingly made an offer of the Imperial crown to Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; but he, sensible that it was not in their gift, very prudently refused it unless it could be procured without violence; and renewed his engagements with the courts of London and Vienna. The French ministry, however, persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war with vigour in Germany and the Low-Countries, in order to facilitate the operations of the combined forces of the house of Bourbon in Italy; where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined, cost what it might, to establish a sovereignty for her second son, Don Philip, at the expense of Maria-Theresa⁴⁷. And the success of the ensuing campaign seemed to justify her firmness and perseverance.

The republic of Genoa, which had been long wavering, at last concluded a treaty with the house of Bourbon, that

⁴⁷. See *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, &c composés sur les pièces originales recueillies, par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, mareschal de France, et ministre d'état, par M. l'Abbe Millot*. It is not a little remarkable that the same Abbe, in his *Elemens d'Hist. Gen.* ascribes the continuance of the war, after the death of Charles VII. to the *hatred* of the English against the French nation! He was not then favoured, it is to be presumed, with the papers of the duke de Noailles, which throw new light upon the subject.

proved

proved fatal to the interests of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. The armies of count de Gages and Don Philip, consisting of French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, having formed a junction in the territories of that republic, from which they received a considerable reinforcement, amounted to eighty thousand men; while the Piedmontese and Austrians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schulenberg, who had been sent to supersede prince Lobkowitz, did not exceed forty-five thousand. There was no contending against such superior force.

Don Philip and Maillebois, who acted under him, having succeeded the prince of Conti in the command of the French troops, obliged his Sardinian majesty and Schulenberg to retire beyond the Tanaro. Count de Gages invested and took Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himself master of Parma and Placentia. The city of Pavia was taken by assault, and Milan itself was forced to surrender, though the citadel continued to hold out.

Pushing his advantages, Don Philip passed the Tanaro, and compelled the Austrian and Piedmontese armies to take shelter behind the Po. He reduced Valenza, Casal, Asti, Gabrano, and even Vienne, only twenty miles north-east of Turin: and the king of Sardinia was so apprehensive of his capital being bombarded, that he posted his army within cover of its cannon, and ordered the pavement of the streets to be taken up. But Don Philip, instead of undertaking such an arduous enterprize, closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan⁴⁸.

The house of Bourbon and their allies were no less successful in other quarters. Lewis XV. had two leading objects in view; to obstruct the election of the grand duke, and to complete the conquest of Flanders. He accordingly assembled two great armies: one on the Maine under the prince of Conti, in order to prevent the queen

of Hungary from employing a superior force against the king of Prussia, to over-awe the deliberations of the electors at Frankfort; the other, consisting of seventy-six thousand men, commanded by count Saxe, under whom the duke de Noailles condescended to serve as first aid-de-camp, invested Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian-Netherlands, and the most important in the Dutch barrier⁴⁹. The king and the dauphin appeared in the camp, and animated by their presence the operations of the besiegers. The allied army amounted only to fifty-three thousand men; yet with these it was resolved to attempt the relief of Tournay. The Hanoverian and British troops were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, a brave but unexperienced young prince. The Austrians were conducted by old count Konigseg; and the Dutch by the prince of Waldeck, as young and inexperienced as the duke of Cumberland.

Mareschal Saxe, who, to a natural genius for war joined a profound knowledge of the military art, was no sooner informed of the purpose of the confederates, than he made the most masterly dispositions for receiving them. The French army was posted on a rising ground, with the village of Antoine, near the Escaut, on its right; the wood of Barry on its left, and in front the village of Fontenoy. In the wood, and at both these villages, were erected formidable batteries of heavy cannon, and the intermediate space was farther defended by strong redoubts. The confederates, however, who had but imperfectly reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, rashly persisted in their resolution of hazarding an attack. Nor were the French without their apprehensions of its consequences, from the known valour of the British troops. The bridge of Colonne, over which the king had passed the Escaut, was accordingly fortified with entrenchments, and occupied by a stout body of reserve,

49. The sovereignty of the barrier-towns belonged to the house of Austria; but they were garrisoned with Dutch troops, for the support of which the states were permitted, by the treaty of Utrecht, to levy certain impositions on the inhabitants.

in order to secure him a retreat, if necessary⁵⁰. And to this necessity he must have been driven, had the British troops been properly supported, and the duke of Cumberland's orders duly executed.

The allies were in motion by two o'clock in the morning, and the cannonading began as soon as it was light. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action
 APRIL 3 O. lasted till three in the afternoon. Never was there a more desperate or gallant attack than that made by the British infantry, commanded by the duke of Cumberland in person, assisted by sir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries was so heavy, that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, they continued to advance, as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to stop their progress. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to put them into disorder. The village of Antoine was evacuated; and mareschal Saxe, concluding that all was lost, sent advice to the king to provide for his safety, by repassing the bridge of Colonne. But Lewis XV. who did not want personal courage, sensible that such a step would give a decided victory to the allies, refused to quit his post⁵¹. His firmness saved his army from ruin and disgrace.

Ashamed to desert their sovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumstances contributed to give a turn to the battle. The Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, having failed in an attack upon the village of Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered successful, had shamefully left the field. An English and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldsby, had also miscarried, through mistake, in a practicable attempt to take possession of a redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barry, and immediately opposite

50. Voltaire, *Siecle Louis XV.* chap. xv.

51. Voltaire, *ubi sup.*

Fontenoy;

Fontenoy; so that the British cavalry, by the cross fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the support of the infantry⁵². This victorious body, now assailed on all sides, fatigued with incessant firing, and galled by some field-pieces unexpectedly planted in front, was therefore obliged to retire, with the loss of seven thousand men, after having successfully routed almost every regiment in the French army⁵³. The loss of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was also very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Austrians inconsiderable.

The French had near ten thousand men killed, and, among these, many persons of distinction; yet was their joy at their good fortune extravagantly high. Their exultation in the hour of triumph, seemed to bear a proportion to the danger they had been in of a defeat. The princes of the blood embraced one another on the field of battle and dissolved in tears of mutual congratulation⁵⁴. They had, indeed, much reason to be satisfied with their victory, which was followed by the most important consequences. For, although the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without losing either colours or standards, the allies were never afterward able, during the campaign, to face the enemy; but lay entrench-

52. Id. *ibid*.

53. "All the regiments," says Voltaire, who is very circumstantial in his account of this battle, "presented themselves one after another; and the English column facing them on all sides, repulsed every regiment that advanced." (*Siecle Louis*. XV. chap. xv.) "From the moment the French and Swiss guards were routed," adds he, "there was nothing but astonishment and confusion throughout the French army. Mareschal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the English column; but their efforts were attended with little effect against a body of infantry so united, so disciplind, and so intrepid." (Id. *ibid*.) "If the Dutch" continued he, "had passed the redoubts that lay between Fontenoy and Antoin: if they had given proper assistance to the English, no resource had been left for the French; not even a retreat perhaps for the king and the dauphin." *Siecle*, ubi sup.

54. Voltaire. Millot.

ed, between Antwerp and Brussels, while mareschal Saxe and count Louendahl reduced, by stratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, Newport, and every other fortified place, in Austrian-Flanders.

But the king of France, though so highly favoured by fortune, was not able to prevent the queen of Hungary from obtaining the great object of her wishes, in the elevation of her husband to the Imperial throne. The French army on the Maine, under the prince of Conti, who had superseded Maillebois in the command, not being able to face the Austrians under Bathiani, the electors assembled in perfect security at Frankfort, and raised to the head of the empire the grand-duke of Tuscany, under the name of Francis I. Meanwhile
 SEPT. 13. the king of Prussia gained two bloody victories over the Austrians under the prince of Lorraine: one near Fridburg, on the confines of Silesia, the other at Slan-dentz, in Bohemia. And not satisfied with these advantages, though he had already entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majesty at Hanover, he invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden.

The king of Poland now found himself under the necessity of suing for peace, and the king of Prussia was heartily tired of the war. A treaty was accordingly
 DEC. 14. concluded at Dresden, between Augustus III. as elector of Saxony, and Frederic III. by which Augustus agreed to pay to his Prussian majesty, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipsic. Another treaty, confirming that of Breslaw, was at the same time concluded between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary. This treaty secured to Frederic III. the possession of Silesia, on condition of his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, also consented to make the same acknowledgment⁵⁵.

These treaties restored tranquillity to Germany. But war, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, continued to rage for some years longer, between the houses of Bourbon and Austria. In the meantime, my dear Philip, we must attend to some transactions that more immediately concern our own island.

LETTER XXIX.

SKETCH OF THE DOMESTIC HISTORY OF GREAT-BRITAIN, INCLUDING SOME FOREIGN AFFAIRS INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH IT, FROM THE RESIGNATION OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, IN 1742, TO THE FINAL SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION IN SCOTLAND, IN 1746.

FROM the accession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain, but more especially after the suppression of the rebellion in 1715, it had been the constant aim of the tories, the natural friends of monarchy, and of certain disappointed whigs, who joined them, and assumed the imposing name of patriots, to obstruct all the measures of government, under pretence of the public good; to represent the essential interests of the nation as sacrificed to a pusillanimous policy, which tamely courted peace, while the treasure of the kingdom was prodigally wasted in German subsidies, more than adequate to the support of a vigorous war, and its honour basely bartered for the precarious security of mercenary alliances, or treaties bought by mean submissions. "And for what?" said the jacobites, when they durst speak out, and most of the tories were jacobites, "to maintain a foreign family upon the throne, in exclusion of the lineal heir!" Such, and more contumelious was the language of opposition in parliament, and of the pretended patriots in their private
juntos,

juntos, during the whole administration of sir Robert Walpole¹, who understood and pursued the true interests of his country, but without sufficiently attending to its honour.

On the resignation of this able statesman, the patriots were called into office, and the greatest reformation was expected in every department of government. A. D. 1742. But lord Carteret, the new prime minister, and his associates, not only rejected every popular motion, but went even farther, as we have already seen, than their predecessors, in flattering the prejudices of their sovereign in favour of the continental system. Large subsidies were at the same time paid to the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland and the king of Sardinia; large bodies of foreign troops were taken into British pay; and a British army was transported into Flanders, to fight battles from which Great-Britain could derive no positive advantage. The war was continued, from pride and passion, long after its political object, as far as it concerned this kingdom, was accomplished: namely, to prevent the French from acquiring an ascendant in Germany, by dismembering the Austrian succession.

Naturally haughty, elated with success, and assured of the support of the British ministry, the queen of Hungary, in the hour of her intoxication, absolutely refused to restore to the emperor Charles VII. his hereditary dominions, though he offered, on that condition, A. D. 1743. to renounce all claim to any part of her inheritance². Not contented with being able to defend her own

1. See the *Parliamentary Debates*, and publications of the times.

2. A treaty to this purpose was actually negotiated at Hanau, in order to preserve appearances, soon after the battle of Dettingen, through the mediation of his Britannic majesty. But it was rendered abortive by a *secret understanding* or intrigue between the courts of London and Vienna; in consequence of which the British ministry, or rather the regency appointed during the king's absence, refused to ratify the preliminaries to which their sovereign had seemingly given his assent.

territories,

territories, she projected conquests both in Italy and Germany. Nothing less would satisfy her than the recovery of Naples and Silesia, though both had been formally ceded by treaty; and the king of Great-Britain, instead of withdrawing his assistance, at this juncture, or insisting on her reconciliation with the emperor, was so ill advised as to acquiesce in the ambitious aim.

The dissatisfaction occasioned by these unpopular and impolitic measures encouraged the jacobites to turn their eyes once more toward the pretender, and the court of France, as we have seen, to attempt an invasion in his favour. Had the French been able to land A. D. 1744. under so consummate a general as count JANUARY. Saxe, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; but we can affirm with confidence, that, as the enterprize proved abortive, it was of infinite service to the reigning family. The alarm which it occasioned united all the whigs in the zealous support of government. They became sensible of the hazard to which they were exposed by their own dissensions, on which, it appeared, the pretender had chiefly built his hopes of success

Loyal addresses were presented to the throne by both houses of parliament, and from all the principal towns and corporations in the kingdom. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Stair, though disgusted with the court, tendered their service to his majesty, in any station he should think proper to name. Their offer was accepted: both were taken into favour; and the earl of Stair was appointed commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain. The duke of Argyle, who had long distinguished himself by his opposition in parliament, communicated to the privy-council a letter of thanks from the chevalier de St. George, containing the most liberal promises, in case of his elevation to the throne³. People of every condition, in a word, who

3. Tindal's *Contin.* vol. ix. mollett, vol. xi.

had any regard for civil or religious liberty, seemed to set their face against the pretender; and all former grievances were forgot, in the presence of so pressing a danger.

Many causes of national discontent, however, still remained; all which were magnified and industriously pointed out by the jacobites, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and induce the king of France, to make a new effort for the re-establishment of the family of Stuart. The inglorious sea-fight off Toulon, and the infamous trial of Matthews and Lestock, excited the indignation of all sincere lovers of justice and of their country. And other circumstances contributed to revive the popular clamour against the measures of the court.

The king of Prussia, on renewing hostilities in consequence of the treaty of Frankfort, beside the manifestos which he published, accusing the queen of Hungary of ambition and obstinacy, (in rejecting the reasonable offers of the emperor) and the king of Great-Britain of fostering that haughty spirit, sent a rescript to his minister at the court of London, very artfully drawn up, and admirably suited to the temper of the times. "I hope," says he, "that no judicious Englishman, nor any Briton zealous for the constitution of his country, can possibly mistake the equity of my resolution, as he may at once convince himself of it, by merely transporting to the theatre of England what now passes on that of Germany. For, as every English patriot would look with indignation upon all such intrigues as should be carried on in his country, in order to dethrone the reigning family, and place the crown upon the head of the pretender, and would oppose such practises to the utmost of his power; in like manner, there is no patriotic or powerful prince of the empire, that can see with indifference, and coolly suffer another member of the empire, such as the queen of Hungary, to attempt to despoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to invest with the Imperial ensigns, a candidate destitute of the qualifications

tions most essential to fill that august throne. In consequence of the same principle," adds he, "as no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great-Britain, or with the constitution of its government, I have some grounds to hope, that the English nation will not meddle with the domestic affairs of the empire: and I entertain those hopes the more firmly, because England can have no inducement to take part in this quarrel from any *commercial or political considerations*."

Though this extraordinary address, to subjects instead of their sovereign, did not meet with such general approbation as its royal author expected, it was not without its effect: and the shameful languor of the campaign in Flanders made the English nation fully sensible of the folly of engaging in foreign quarrels. The credit of the ministry sunk to nothing: their conduct was arraigned by men of all parties; and they had little family influence. The king therefore resolved, in compliance with the sense of his people, as well as for his own ease, to chuse a new administration, though not to change his political system; the indignation of the public being chiefly directed against those apostate patriots who, after having hunted down sir Robert Walpole, as an enemy to the constitution, and a betrayer of the interests of his country, had themselves pursued more exceptionable measures, without taking one popular step.

At the head of the new ministry stood Mr. Henry Pelham, already first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, who had been for some years one of the principal secretaries of state. They possessed great parliamentary interest; and, in order to acquire popularity, as well as to increase their strength, they formed a coalition with the *real patriots*, or those leading members in both houses, who had continued to oppose the measures of the court during the late administration, on finding they were no better than those of the former, or because they thought their merit had been neglected in

the disposal of offices, after the resignation of sir Robert Walpole. To that coalition they gave the name of the **BROAD-BOTTOM**, as comprehending honest and able men of all parties. Conformable to this idea, the earl of Harrington was appointed to succeed earl Granville, formerly lord Carteret, as secretary of state; the duke of Bedford was made first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Chesterfield, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. George Lyttleton, afterward lord Lyttleton, one of the commissioners of the treasury; Mr. Doddington, treasurer of the navy; and sir John Hynd Cotton, treasurer of the chamber⁴.

The wide base on which Mr. Pelham had founded his administration left little room for parliamentary opposition; and faction, though secretly plotting new revolutions, seemed for a season to be lulled asleep. Very liberal supplies were voted for prosecuting the war on the continent: vigorous measures were resolved upon, as the most likely means of bringing it to a speedy conclusion; and the duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief, in
A. D. 1745.

order to carry those measures into execution. The earl of Chesterfield was dispatched to the Hague, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, with a view of persuading the Dutch to become principals in the war, or at least to engage them to settle, and furnish with exactness, their quota of troops and subsidies. He succeeded in the latter; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success.

But all those hopes were blasted by the fatal battle of Fontenoy. Fresh discontents arose: the machinations of the jacobites were renewed; and the king of France, whose great object was the conquest of Flanders, in order to procure the recal of the British troops from that country, encouraged the young pretender, by flattering promises and false representations, to attempt a descent in the North of Scotland. Representations, equally false and illusory, were

4. Id. *ibid*.

made to him by certain Irish and Scottish adventurers, who, having nothing to lose, were ready for any desperate enterprise, and probably bribed by the court of Versailles to cajole him into a compliance with its views. They affirmed, that the whole British nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the body of the people, loaded with oppressive taxes, and longing for relief, would every where crowd to his standard as soon as it should be erected; that the regular troops in the kingdom were few; and that, being assured of a powerful support from France, he could not doubt of being able to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Charles, who was naturally confident, encouraged by these intoxicating misrepresentations, embarked at Port-Lazare, in Brittany, on board an armed vessel, JULY 14. which his father had found interest to equip, attended by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other Irish and Scottish adherents, with nine hundred stand of arms. The Elizabeth, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with arms and ammunition, was appointed him as a convoy: but she falling in with the Lion, an English ship of fifty-eight guns, was obliged, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, to return to Brest in a shattered condition. Charles, however, pursued his voyage, and having made the circuit of Ireland, landed on the coast of Lochaber. He was there joined by Cameron of Lochiel, and some other Highland chiefs, who, though they did not approve of his rash and ill-concerted undertaking, thought themselves bound in honour to assert the rights of a prince whose cause was dear to them, and who had thrown himself upon their generosity⁵.

The naked and defenceless condition of the pretender was too evident to escape the observation of the least intelligent of his partizans. But this objection was artfully set aside by the address of his followers. His deficiency in arms and ammunition, it was said, might be accounted for from the

5. Tindal's Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix. Smollet, vol. xi.

unforeseen misfortune that had befallen his convoy; and his coming without foreign force was produced as a proof of his superior discernment, as well as of his confidence in the affection of his friends. The rooted hatred and animosity of the English against the French nation, it was ingeniously urged, had been the chief cause of the failure of all the attempts of the latter to re-establish the family of Stuart on the throne of Great-Britain; that a perpetual jealousy of the influence of this rival nation, always connected with the idea of popery and arbitrary power, could alone have induced a great and generous people so long to submit to the dominion of a foreign family, in exclusion of their hereditary princes; and those bug-bears being chased away by the magnanimity and heroism of the youthful Charles, he had only to march southward at the head of his faithful clans, in order to be joined by multitudes of his father's loyal subjects, who longed for an opportunity of renewing their allegiance; and that, should any foreign power interpose in behalf of the house of Hanover, or the British troops be recalled from Flanders, a superior French army would be landed, to complete the glorious revolution.

These plausible arguments, recommended by a magnificent side-board of plate, and a large sum in ready money, which to the frugal Highlanders seemed a royal treasure, were so well received, that Charles soon found himself at the head of some thousands of hardy mountaineers, filled with hereditary attachment to his family, and warmly devoted to his person, in consequence of his open and engaging manners, as well as of his having assumed the ancient military dress of their country, which added new grace to his tall and handsome figure, at the same time that it borrowed dignity from his princely air; and who, from all those motives, were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause.

But this ardour to raise in arms was confined to the heads of a few clans; and these, namely, Lochiel, Glenco, Glengary, Keppock, Clanronald, and some other chiefs, though distinguished

distinguished by their valour, were by no means the most considerable for their numbers. Political interest had drawn to the side of government, or prudence taught, a quiet submission to the heads of many of those clans who had been the grand support of the pretender's claim in 1715, and who were, from principle, still attached to the house of Stuart.

The eldest son of the attainted earl of Seaforth, the head of the Mackenzies, was a member of the house of commons, as was also the head of the Macleods. The chief of the Macdonalds, the most numerous of the jacobite clans, had declared against an insurrection. The representative of the noble and powerful family of Gordon, whose retainers made a principal figure in the former rebellion, was now become protestant, and lay under great obligations to government; and lord Lovat, the head of the Fraser's, beside his utter want of principle, was backward in declaring himself. Nor was this all. The duke of Argyle's Highlanders, the earl of Sutherland's men, the Monroes, and several other protestant clans, seemed sincerely attached to the reigning family, as were all the inhabitants of the low-country of Scotland, a few catholic and nonjuring families excepted⁶. This matter is but little understood.

The people of the low-country of Scotland are chiefly presbyterians, and jealous of their civil and religious rights. That jealousy led them, as we have seen, to take up arms against Charles I. before a sword was drawn in England. By neglecting to bargain for the free exercise of their religion at the restoration, they were again exposed to persecu-

6. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. written, as already noticed, by the late laborious and intelligent Mr. Guthrie, whose account of the rebellion in Scotland is very full, circumstantial, and accurate. The author of these Letters was then a boy, by no means incapable of memory; and he has since had occasion to converse with many persons deeply engaged in that rebellion, as well as with many employed in suppressing it. He therefore considers himself as a contemporary. This observation he means should extend to the whole subsequent part of his narration.

tion under Charles II. But at the revolution they took care to secure both their civil and religious liberties, which were farther secured by the union. They have, therefore, on all occasions, firmly adhered to the protestant succession; and were, at this crisis, equally alarmed at the idea of the pretender and of the Highlanders, whose cruel depredations under the marquis of Montrose, the viscount Dundee, and the earl of Mar, were still fresh in their memory. They were the most loyal subjects of the house of Hanover in Great-Britain. But they had long been disused to arms; and were therefore filled with melancholy apprehensions at the threatening danger. The disasters in Flanders, the rapid progress of the French power, and the defenceless state of their own country, all pressed upon their minds.

The news of a fortunate event in America, contributed in some degree to remove this despondency; namely, the conquest of the island of Cape-Breton.

That island, of which the French were shamefully left in possession at the peace of Utrecht, through the negligence or corruption of the English ministry, when Great-Britain had the power of giving law to her enemies, is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and is ninety miles in length and sixty at its greatest breadth. Newfoundland, which lies to the east, is but fifteen leagues distant; and Nova-Scotia, to the west, is separated from it only by a channel about twelve miles broad. Thus placed between the territories of France, and those ceded to her rival, Cape-Breton threatened the possession of the one, while it protected those of the other. Louisburg, seated on the eastern coast, was the chief town and port in the island. The harbour, naturally safe and capacious, was strongly fortified; the narrow entrance being guarded by two formidable batteries, whose cross-fire threatened instant destruction to any ship that should attempt to force a passage. The town was walled, and defended by all the works that can render a place impregnable. It was the key of communication between
France

France and Canada, as well as the grand bulwark of her fisheries. And it was considered by the English colonies as the Dunkirk of America; as it afforded protection to a swarm of French frigates and privateers, that ruined their trade, and pillaged them with impunity.

Influenced by these considerations, the British ministry were induced to listen to the proposals of the people of New-England, who offered to undertake the reduction of Louisbourg. Commodore Warren, then stationed at Antigua, was accordingly ordered to proceed to the northward, with a stout squadron, in order to protect the transports, and co-operate with the New-England militia; which, to the number of six thousand, were embarked, under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataqua, and landed without opposition within four miles of the place. The besiegers, though inexperienced, were brave: the officers of the marines directed their operations; and commodore Warren, though foiled in every attempt to enter the harbour, was able effectually to cut off all supplies. Seeing ^{APRIL 30.} no prospect of relief, and threatened with a general assault, the governor, doubtful of the fidelity of his garrison, agreed to surrender the town; and the whole island of Cape-Breton, or (as the French pompously called it) *Isle Royale*, immediately submitted to the victors⁷.

This conquest, the importance of which was much magnified, contributed greatly to confirm the zeal of the friends to the protestant succession in Scotland; and if vigorous measures had been taken by government, the rebellion might have been crushed in its birth. But George II. being then at Hanover, the regency, appointed during his absence, slighted every information relative to the enterprise of the young pretender, until all North-Britain was threatened with subjection. They could not believe he would have the hardiness to land without a powerful foreign force; so that

7. Id. *ibid.* Douglas's *Summary* vol. ii. Smollet, vol. xi.

Charles's very weakness, under the veil of his temerity, may be said to have advanced his progress. Descending from the mountains with the rapidity of a torrent, at the head of his hardy and intrepid Highlanders, he took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; every where proclaiming his father, the chevalier de St. George, king of Great-Britain, and seizing the public money for his use. At Perth he reviewed his forces, and found them to amount to about three thousand men. Here he was joined by the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, by the young and sanguine duke of Perth⁸, and several other persons of distinction. And the marquis of Tullibardine having taken possession of the estate of Athol, which his younger brother inherited, as well as the title, in consequence of his attainder, was able to bring some accession of strength to the cause which he had espoused.

Emboldened by these promising appearances, the young pretender proceeded to Dumblane; and having crossed the Perth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, advanced towards Edinburgh, after making a feint of marching to Glasgow. Meanwhile sir John Cope, commander in chief of the king's forces in Scotland, afraid to face the rebels, marched northward as far as Inverness, under pretence of forming a junction with some loyal clans; leaving, by that movement, the capital and the whole low-country at the mercy of the enemy.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed at first determined on a bold resistance; but on the nearer approach of the re-

8. The head of this nobleman's family, which was strongly attached to the house of Stuart, having accompanied James II. into France, was there created a duke. He himself had been educated in that kingdom; and succeeding unexpectedly to the family estate, he had lately come over to Great-Britain. On his arrival, he flew with ardor into all the gaieties of the age, and adapted himself to every mode of pleasure, which he pursued with the appearance of giddy dissipation, while forming the plan of an extensive rebellion. He was the soul of the jacobite party.

bels, their resolution began to fail. They were apprehensive of a general pillage, and even of a massacre; if the place should be carried by assault, against which its ruinous and extensive walls were but a slender security. The magistrates, therefore, entered into a treaty with the pretender for the surrender of the town. But before the terms were finally settled, a body of Highlanders being treacherously admitted at one of the gates in the night, took possession of the city guard-house; and opening the other gates to their associates, made themselves masters of that ancient capital by morning. The castle, however, still held out. And thither had been carried, on the approach of the rebels, the treasure of the two Scottish banks, and the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid the fire from the castle, which being seated on a rock to the westward of the town, commands the whole neighbourhood, Charles made a circuit to the east, and took up his residence in the palace of Holyroodhouse, the kingly dwelling of his ancestors. Here he kept a kind of court: and being attended by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who acted as officers of state, he issued an order, with all the formality of lawful authority, for solemnly proclaiming his father at the cross of Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed accordingly; and, at the same time, three manifestos were read by the pursuivants. In the first manifesto, the old pretender asserted his right to the crown of Scotland, declaimed against the union, lamented the hardships to which the Scots had been exposed in consequence of it, and complained bitterly of the injuries his faithful Highlanders had suffered from the established government. He promised to call a free parliament, to abolish the malt-duty, and all other grievous impositions and taxes that had been laid on them since the union; to restore the Scottish nation to its ancient liberty and independency; to protect, secure, and maintain all his protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of
their

their rights, privileges and immunities. By the second manifesto, he constituted his son Charles sole regent of his dominions, and particularly of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during his absence. The third manifesto was in the name of the young pretender; and Charles, after enforcing all that had been said in his father's first declaration, commanded obedience to himself as prince-regent⁹.

In the meantime general Cope, being joined by some well-affected Highlanders, had embarked his troops at Aberdeen and landed at Dunbar, where he was reinforced with two regiments of dragoons, that had retired from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh on the approach of the enemy. Confident of success, he began his march toward the capital, with a well-appointed army; but understanding that the rebels were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Prestonpans, having the village of Tranert in his front and the sea in his rear. His troops, consisting of between four and five thousand men, lay all

SEPT. 16. night on their arms: and early next morning the young pretender advanced in hostile array, at the head of about three thousand undisciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whose furious gestures and rapid movements, seen dimly through the retiring darkness, excited unusual emotions of terror in the hearts of the English soldiers. These emotions were not allowed to subside. Charles himself, standing in the first line, gave the word of command; and drawing his sword, threw away the scabbard¹⁰. The Highlanders rushed on to the attack like so many sturdy savages, regardless of the fire of the artillery. The king's troops were thrown into disorder, and totally routed. The dragoons instantly left the field, and could never after be rallied. Five hundred of the foot were killed, and fifteen hundred made prisoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who fell

9. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. and the periodical publications of the times.

10. *Id.* *ibid.*

covered with many wounds. Never, in a word, was any victory more complete; the military chest, cannon, colours, camp-equipage and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels.

Had the pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the British troops were recalled from Flanders, or any foreign succours could be procured, he would probably have accomplished the great object of his enterprize. But instead of taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to the palace of Holyrood-house, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh proved the Capua of Charles. There, intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and seduced by the blandishments of the jacobite ladies, longing for his princely benediction, he wantonly wasted his time till the critical moment was past; while his hungry followers blunted the edge of their ferocity in social indulgences, or broke the nerve of their courage in fruitless efforts to reduce the castle, and get possession of the public treasure. Meantime he was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitsligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie. And it was at last resolved to march into England.

In consequence of that resolution, Charles published a new manifesto, said to be composed by himself, in which he promised, in his father's name, all manner of security to the protestant religion and the established church, and declared that he would pass any law the parliament should judge necessary for that purpose. "That the public debt," has been contracted under an *unlawful government*, no body," says he, "can disown, any more than that it is now a most *heavy load* upon the *nation*: yet, in regard it is due to those very subjects, whom our royal father promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of of his parliament concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

Furthermore,

“ Furthermore, we have in his name to declare, that the
“ same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with
“ respect to every law or act of parliament, since the re-
“ volution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parlia-
“ ment, they shall be approved, he will confirm them.”
He next declares, that his expedition was undertaken with-
out assistance either from France or Spain: “ but,” adds
he, “ when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss,
“ the elector of Hanover’s allies, being called over to pro-
“ tect his government, is it not high time for the king my
“ father to accept also of the assistance of those who are
“ able, and who have engaged to support him?”

This declaration had by no means the desired effect. It did not effectually remove the fears of the monied men in regard to the security of the funds, while it filled the body of the people with apprehensions of a French invasion. Every one, from some motive or other, seemed attached to the established government. Loyal addresses, from all quarters, were presented to George II. on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape-Breton, and expressing detestation at the unnatural rebellion

Nor were these addresses merely complimentary. Above a thousand of the most eminent merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers in the kingdom, in order to support public credit, signed an agreement, that they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any sum due to them, and use their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same paper¹². This was a step of the utmost importance; as it not only prevented the danger of a run upon the bank, but interested many in the defence of the house of Hanover, whose hearts were with the pretender, or whose minds were wavering.

Other measures conspired to fix the unsteady, and to warm into zeal timid or prudential loyalty. The habeas

11. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix. 12. *Id.* *ibid.* Smollett, vol. xi.

corpus act was suspended, and several persons were taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices. Six thousand Dutch auxiliaries were landed; and the flower of the British troops, recalled from Flanders, arrived in England, with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Beside a number of new regiments, voluntarily raised by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were assembled; arms were liberally distributed to the people, and the whole southern part of the kingdom was put into a posture of defence.

Notwithstanding this hostile appearance, and the formidable force that was now collected, the young adventurer left Edinburgh, and entered England by the western border, with only six thousand men; the NOV. 6. duke of Perth acting as commander in chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. They immediately invested Carlisle; and both the town and castle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, supported by the inhabitants and some companies of regular troops, surrendered within three days.

The whole kingdom was filled with consternation at the progress of the rebels. Terror took possession of every heart; and the most frightful apprehensions were at the same time entertained of an invasion from France, where great preparations were making for a descent in favour of the pretender. The militia of the maritime counties were drawn toward the coast, and signals fixed for a general alarm. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was stationed with a fleet in the channel, and effectually blocked up the French ports, prevented the projected invasion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover under cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl-mareschal of Scotland; who, regardless of danger, in what he esteemed so good a cause, threw
up

up his commission in disgust, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out¹³.

Meanwhile the rebels, having left a small garrison in Carlisle, advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaster and Preston, took possession of Manchester, where the pretender established his head-quarters. Thinking himself now in the heart of the English interest, he promised himself a great accession of force; but although the inhabitants of Manchester received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they shewed little inclination to join him, and the people of the country still less. He was only able to raise about two hundred men, who were formed into a regiment, in hopes it would soon be completed, under colonel Townly, a roman catholic gentleman of some eminence in that neighbourhood, and who had served in the French army.

Charles, who had been led to suppose, that as soon as he should enter Lancashire, the majority of the people would flock to his standard, was very much mortified at this backwardness in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his disappointment his: and followers, in general wore a good face, though it was known to them that general Wade, who had assembled an army of fourteen thousand men at Newcastle, was advancing through Yorkshire, and that the duke of Cumberland, assisted by sir John Ligonier, had taken post near Litchfield with thirteen thousand veteran troops. A council of war was called; and it was resolved to proceed by the way of Chester and Liverpool into Wales, where the pretender expected a number of adherents. But learning afterward that those two towns were secured, and that the bridges over the river Mersey had been broken down, Charles took the route of Stockport and Warrington; and

13. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

passing through Macclesfield and Congleton, turned suddenly off by Leeke and Ashbourn, and unexpectedly entered Derby. There his father was proclaimed with great solemnity. DEC. 5.

Having gained, by this rapid movement, a day's march of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the pretender, who was now within an hundred miles of London, might have made himself master of the capital, had he proceeded directly forward. And, in that event, the French would probably have been encouraged to attempt a descent in his favour; while many well-wishers, who still kept at a distance, would certainly have joined him, and public credit would have received a terrible shock. Yet must we not rashly suppose that Charles would have been finally successful, had he even got possession of the metropolis, as an army of thirty thousand men, firmly attached to the reigning family, could have been assembled in the neighbourhood in a few days; in order to watch the motions of the rebels and cut off the communication between the town and country. And a powerful fleet would have obstructed all supplies by sea.

The rebels must even have hazarded an engagement, before they could have entered the capital; for no sooner was it known, that, having eluded the vigilance of the duke of Cumberland, they had it in their power to march southward, than orders were given for forming a camp upon Finchly-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, commander in chief of the forces in England. And all the regular troops in the neighbourhood of London, the new raised regiments, the volunteer companies, the militia, and the trained bands, were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for the same service. Little resistance, however, could have been made by men enervated by the sedentary arts, nursed in the bosom of a voluptuous city, and but slightly acquainted with the use of arms; whose imagination was filled with the most frightful ideas of the savage ferocity,
bodily

bodily strength, and irresistible valour of the Highlanders; while they were apprehensive, on the other hand, of being every moment overwhelmed by a French invasion, or massacred by an insurrection of the roman catholics¹⁴. They might have been broken at the first encounter; and as George II. was obstinately brave, he must have sunk beneath the arm of his youthful antagonist.

Happily things did not come to this extremity. The pretender had advanced into the heart of England, without receiving any considerable accession of force, or being joined by any person of distinction. It appeared as if all the jacobites in the kingdom had been annihilated. The Welsh took no measures for exciting an insurrection in his favour, nor did the French attempt an invasion for his support. He lay, with a handful of men, between two powerful armies, in the midst of winter, and in a country hostile to him. Having inconsiderately spent some time at Derby, he could not now enter the metropolis without hazarding a battle with one of those armies, and a defeat must have proved fatal to himself and all his adherents. It was therefore resolved in a council of war, by the majority of the Highland chiefs, to march back into Scotland, where the pretender's affairs had taken a fortunate turn; although Charles himself, the duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for proceeding to London, be the event what it might. And they perhaps were right; especially as they were under the necessity of making a retreat in the face of two superior armies; a retreat which, it was to be feared, beside the danger attending it, would utterly ruin their cause in England, and greatly dispirit their friends in Scotland. A retreat, however, was attempted; and conducted with a degree of intrepidity, regularity, expedition, and address, unparalleled in the history of nations, by any body of men under circumstances equally adverse.

14. Id. *ibid.* Smollett, vol. xi.

On the third day after the rebels left Derby, they arrived at Manchester, and proceeded to Preston, without the loss of a single man; though the bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, the beacons lighted to alarm the country, and detachments of horse sent from both the royal armies to harass them on their march. They were overtaken, however, at the village of Clifton, near Penrith, by the duke of Cumberland in person, at the head of his cavalry. Lord George Murray, who commanded their rear-guard, composed of the clan of the Macpherson's, the most ferocious of all the Highland tribes, threw himself into the village, in order to obstruct the pursuit; and perceiving that the royal army consisted only of cavalry (for which, instead of their former terror, the Highlanders had acquired a contempt, since the battle of Prestonpans), he sent an express after the main body of the rebels, entreating them to return, and hazard an engagement. No regard was paid to his message, yet he resolved to maintain his post. He accordingly put himself in a posture of defence; repulsed a party of horse; combated for an hour a body of dismounted dragoons; and then, having fully accomplished his purpose, proceeded unmolested to the rendezvous of the pretender at Penrith.

DEC. 18.

On the arrival of lord George Murray, it was deliberated by the rebel chiefs, whether they should prosecute their march, or turn back and give battle to the duke of Cumberland, before he could be joined by his infantry. But it appearing, upon inquiry, that such a junction might be soon formed, and without their knowledge, they continued their retreat to Carlisle. There they drew up their forces, and seemed determined to wait the approach of their pursuers. Understanding, however, that the duke of Cumberland's army had been reinforced by several battalions of foot, and a squadron of horse, from Wade's division, they changed their resolution; and having augmented the garrison of Carlisle, by throwing into the place the Manchester volunteers,

they crossed the river Eden, and passed into Scotland, without losing above fifty men, during their whole expedition, by sickness, fatigue, the sword of the enemy, or leaving one straggler behind them¹⁵.

After the action of Clifton, the duke of Cumberland found it necessary to halt, and give his troops, which had been roughly handled, some respite. He was there joined by his infantry : and his whole army advanced to Carlisle, in three columns. The garrison, though ill supplied with engineers, made a shew of resistance ; but no sooner were the batteries opened against the place, than the rebels found themselves under the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were committed to close confinement ; and the duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he was received with as much eclat as if he had gained a complete victory ; every one supposing that the rebellion was eventually extinguished.

This, however, was by no means the case. The pretender's force was yet unbroken ; and, if the failure of his expedition into England had discouraged some of his more sanguine followers, his rapid progress and gallant retreat had shed new lustre over his arms. The English jacobites, whom fear alone had withheld from joining him, thinking every moment that his slender band would be crushed, now reproached themselves for their pusillanimity, in not abetting that cause which they loved, and to which their aid might have given the ascendant. In a word, had he been properly supplied with arms, money, and military stores, from France, and with what he wanted no less, a few able engineers and experienced officers, the contest might still have been doubtful whether the house of Stuart or that of Hanover should sit upon the throne of Great-Britain.

But let us leave these political conjectures, and take a view of the state of Scotland, and of the daring adventurer in his course.

15. *Id. ibid.*

Soon after the rebels left Edinburgh, general Wade, who commanded in the north of England, sent a body of troops for the protection of that city. The inhabitants of Glasgow raised a regiment for their own defence: other towns followed their example; and all the Argyleshire Highlanders were in arms for the support of government. The people of the south and west of Scotland, animated by the harangues of the presbyterian clergy, and stimulated by their intuitive, or habitual horror against popery and arbitrary power, appeared only to increase in loyalty during the most prosperous fortune of the pretender. Their zeal for the protestant succession, as settled in the family of Brunswick, became warmer in proportion to his success, and the danger to which it seemed exposed; for they paid no regard to his declarations in regard to religion, and very little to those of a civil nature. “Kirk and King!” was the universal cry.

The state of affairs was very different in the north of Scotland. The majority of the people, beyond the river Tay, being chiefly papists, nonjurors, or luke-warm presbyterians, were disposed to favour the re-establishment of the house of Stuart. But many of the leading men were attached to the reigning family by motives of interest, ambition, inclination, and gratitude; and exerted themselves zealously for the support of government. One of the most distinguished of those was Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, lord president of the court of session, a man of extensive knowledge, great talents, engaging manners, and equally respected for his public and private virtues. To him, perhaps, the house of Hanover owes its continuance on the throne of Great-Britain, and we the enjoyment of our happy constitution. He confirmed in their allegiance several chieftains, who began to waver: some he induced, by the force of his arguments, to renounce their former principles, and oppose that cause which they meant to abet; others he persuaded to remain quiet, from prudential considerations. In these views he was warmly seconded by the earl of London,

don, who commanded the king's forces at Inverness; where he was joined by twelve hundred men, under the earl of Sutherland; by a considerable number, under lord Rae; and, beside the Grants and Monroes, by a body of hardy islanders from Skie, under sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod¹⁶.

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by the prevailing spirit of the people, and the activity of a few rebel leaders. At the head of those stood lord Lewis Gordon; who, though his brother, the duke, was in the interest of government, had been remarkably successful in arming the retainers of the family, as well as in engaging all disaffected persons in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The earl of Cromartie had raised a body of men for the support of the pretender; a considerable sum of money had been received for his use from Spain; and lord John Drummond, brother to the duke of Perth, had landed with a small reinforcement, and with liberal promises of farther assistance, from France.

Encouraged by those flattering appearances, and by the rapid progress of the pretender, lord Lovat, one of the most extraordinary characters in ancient or modern times, who had long temporized, ordered his son to put himself at the head of his clan, and repair to the rendezvous of the rebels at Perth¹⁷. He even sent round his whole estate the *fiery-cross*,

16. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix. *Smollett*, vol. xi.

17. Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was born with insinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Utterly destitute of principle, and despising veracity as a useless quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate interest, and all his words to the deceitful purpose of drawing the credulous into his views. And although his natural address was homely, his personal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too obvious to escape the observation even of the weak and the vain: it was too strongly applied to be resisted entirely by men of the most moderate tempers, and of the soundest understanding. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearless in the execution of them. In 1697, he had entered with an armed band, the house of a woman of quality, seized her person, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured with

cross, or general denunciation of spoil, sword, and fire, made by the Highland chiefs against such of their vassals as should refuse to take arms at their command. Near a thousand Frasers were instantly levied, and the master of Lovat invested fort Augustus. The earl of Loudon marched to the

with the sound of a bag-pipe to drown her cries; and having stripped her naked, by cutting off her stays with his dirk or dagger, he forced her to yield, and consummated the pretended marriage amid the noise and riot of his barbarous attendants.

Obliged to abandon the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other violences, Fraser found means to obtain a pardon from King William; to ingratiate himself with the court of St. Germain, by becoming a catholic; and was employed by the court of France in attempting to raise a rebellion in Scotland in 1703. For that purpose, he was furnished with proper credentials by the pretender; but instead of making use of those for the restoration of the exiled family, he discovered the whole plot to the English government, and returned to France, in order to procure more full proofs of the guilt of the principal conspirators. His treachery being there discovered, he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained some months, and must have suffered the punishment due to his crimes, but for his consummate dissimulation. He had the address to make it be believed, that all he had done was for the interest of the pretender; and on his return to Great-Britain, his sufferings in France recommended him not only to the protection but the favour of government.

In 1715, Lovat was highly serviceable to the house of Hanover, by assisting in the suppression of the rebellion: and becoming afterward a personal favourite of George I. he was nobly rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the scheme of erecting himself into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending, that if he had the distribution of twenty-five thousand pounds annually among the heads of the clans, he could effectually prevent all their future insurrections, and draw them insensibly into the interest of the reigning family. Disappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwise disgusted with the established government, he again relapsed into jacobitism; and, concluding that the young pretender would be supported by a powerful foreign force, he was at no pains to conceal his principles. But when Charles landed without such force, Lovat refused to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he industrious in arming his clan; in order, as is supposed, to procure a pardon for his treasonous speeches and practices, by throwing his interest into the scale of government, if the unexpected success of the pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See *Stuart's Papers. Lockhart's Mem. Lovat's Trial.*

relief

relief of that place, and raised the siege. But this success was more than balanced by that of lord Lewis Gordon, who surprised and routed the laird of Macleod, and Monro of Culcairn, at Inverury, and obliged them to repass the Spey: so that the rebels were now masters of the whole country, from that river to the Frith of Forth, and every where imposed contributions on the inhabitants, and seized the royal revenue.

Meanwhile, the pretender, on leaving England, understanding that Edinburgh was secured by a fresh army, had proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, and imposed a heavy contribution on that loyal city. After making a hasty, but oppressive tour through the neighbouring country, he directed his march to Stirling, where he was joined by the French troops, under lord John Drummond; by the Frasers, under the master of Lovat; and by lord Lewis Gordon and his victorious followers. It was now resolved to invest that town and castle; the latter being of great importance, by commanding the bridges over the river Forth. A. D. 1746. The town, which is almost naked and defenceless, surrendered as soon as a battery was opened against it; but the castle, defended by a good garrison, under the command of General Blakeney, still held out, and continued to baffle all the attempts of the rebels.

The taking of the town of Stirling was, therefore, in itself, an event of little moment. Yet, when connected with the miraculous escape of the pretender from two royal armies, and the great increase of his adherents during his bold expedition to the southern part of the kingdom, it served to occasion fresh alarm in England; especially as it was considered as a prelude to the reduction of the citadel, the key of the communication between the north and south of Scotland. Nothing was thought impossible for Charles and his sturdy Highlanders, who seemed to be at once invulnerable, and proof against the rage of the elements.

General

General Hawley, an experienced officer, who had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, in the room of sir John Cope, was ordered instantly to assemble an army, and proceed to the relief of Stirling castle. Hawley, who was naturally brave, confident, and even presumptuous, having under him major-general Huske, brigadier Cholmondeley, brigadier Mordaunt, and several other officers of distinction, advanced accordingly to Falkirk at the head of near ten thousand men, beside the Argyleshire Highlanders and Glasgow volunteers; and having a contemptible idea of the rebels, whom he had boasted he would drive from one end of the kingdom to the other, with two regiments of dragoons, he gave himself little trouble to inquire after their numbers or disposition.

The pretender's army consisted of about eight thousand men, and lay concealed in Torwood. Informed that the enemy were in motion in order to take possession of some rising grounds in the neighbourhood of his camp, Hawley commanded his cavalry to cut them in JAN. 17. pieces. But the event proved very different from what he expected. The horse being suddenly broken, recoiled upon the foot, and a total route ensued. Abandoning their tents, with part of their artillery and baggage, the king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, after attempting in vain to make a stand at Falkirk. They left upon the field of battle near five hundred slain, among whom were an unusual number of officers, and about three hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the rebels¹⁸.

Had the victorious Charles, during the consternation occasioned by this second blow, again boldly entered England, he might possibly have taken up his winter-quarters in the capital; or had he marched with the main body of his army toward Inverness, he might have crushed the earl of Loudon, disarmed the loyal clans, doubled the number of his adherents, and made himself absolute master of all the North

of Scotland. But his heart being set on the reduction of Stirling castle, he lost sight of every other object. He therefore returned to the siege of that fortress; and, after having in vain attempted to carry it by assault, the mode of attack most agreeable to his followers, and for which they were best adapted, he obstinately persisted in erecting batteries, in opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in the depth of winter, to the great dissatisfaction of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in disgust to their native mountains.

While the pretender was thus wasting his time, and breaking the spirit of his adherents, in these fruitless, impolitic and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of fresh troops. William, duke of Cumberland, was appointed to command it; and the affairs of government soon began to wear a new face. Though unsuccessful in Flanders, and considered by professional men as no great master in the military art, the duke of Cumberland was adored by the soldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was hoped, would at once intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops.

Experience proved this conjecture to be well founded. On the arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh, he was received with the warmest expressions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer by the loyal party. The presbyterian preachers went yet farther: they represented him as a saviour sent of God, for the protection of his chosen people, and to take vengeance on his father's enemies. Firmness and confidence every where took place of irresolution and despondency; and such of the jacobites as had not yet taken up arms, foreseeing the ruin of their prince's cause, remained quiet.

As soon as William had collected his army, amounting to about fourteen thousand horse and foot, he advanced toward
the

the enemy. Charles at first seemed disposed to hazard a battle. But the Highlanders being much fatigued and disgusted with the siege of Stirling-castle, upon which they could make no impression, and in the different attacks on which they had lost a number of men, the pretender resolved, by the advice of his most experienced officers, to abandon all his posts on this side of the Spey, and proceed northward, as a fugitive instead of a conqueror. He was able, however, to make himself master of Inverness, fort George, and fort Augustus: and to oblige the earl of Loudon to take refuge in the isle of Skie. In a word, his present success shewed what he might have done, had he taken this route during his good fortune, when every heart was big with hope. The well-affected clans, as they were called, who now made but a feeble resistance, would then have joined him almost to a man: and many persons of distinction, who still wore the mask of loyalty, would have repaired to his standard. But impolitic as Charles had been, he was yet formidable; and a more perfect knowledge of the advantages of his situation was only perhaps necessary to have enabled him to repel all the efforts of his competitor.

In the meantime, the duke of Cumberland being joined by six thousand Hessians, that had been landed at Leith¹⁹, soon after his departure from Edinburgh, left two battalions in Stirling, four in Perth, and proceeded to Aberdeen with the main body of his army. During his stay there, he was indefatigable in exercising his troops, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in providing for the security of the country; and as soon as the weather would permit, he assembled his forces and began his APRIL 8. march for Inverness, where the rebels had established their

19. These troops were sent over from Flanders to replace the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, which France insisted should be recalled, as part of the reduced garrison of Tournay; and rendered incapable, by the articles of capitulation, of serving against his most Christian majesty, or his allies, for eighteen months.

head-quarters. Contrary to all expectation, he was permitted to pass the deep and rapid river Spey without opposition, though about three thousand Highlanders appeared on the northern side, and the banks were steep and difficult of ascent. It was not timidity, however, but the presumptuousness of their leaders, that restrained the rebels from disputing the passage with the royal army; a resolution having been taken in a council of war, in spite of many sound arguments to the contrary, to leave the fords of the Spey open; and for this very extraordinary reason, that the greater number of the king's troops that should pass the river, the fewer would escape, as the sanguine adherents of Charles entertained no doubt of being able to cut off the whole.

Romantic, however, as this idea appears, and unwise as is the maxim on which it was founded, it might possibly have been realized, had the pretender afterward followed the advice of the more cool and experienced Highland chieftains. Had he resolved to act only on the defensive, and continued to retire northward, disputing every defile with his pursuers, until he had led the royal army into mountains, where its cavalry could not subsist, and whither its artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage-waggons could not be drawn, he might at least have obliged the duke of Cumberland to retire in his turn; especially as the Highlanders from their knowledge of the country, the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, the number of live cattle, and their own spare diet, could there have found subsistence for a considerable time. And the glory connected with the retreat of the king's troops, independent of every other advantage which might have resulted from such a line of conduct, would have been of infinite service to the pretender's cause.

But Charles, who had imbibed, from his hot-headed Irish adherents, false notions of military honour, thought it would be disgraceful to retire any further before his antagonist. He therefore determined to hazard an engagement; though the royal army was not only, in all respects, better appointed

ed, but superior in numbers, by at least one-third, to that of his undisciplined followers. And having failed in an attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn during the night, he marched back to his camp on Culloden moor; where, seemingly in a fit of desperation, it was resolved by the rebel chiefs, fatigued as their men were, to wait the approach of the king's forces, in order of battle²⁰.

The duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning, and came in sight of the rebels about noon. They were drawn up in thirteen divisions APRIL 16. under their respective leaders, with four pieces of cannon before their centre, where was stationed the pretender, and the same number on each wing. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army in three lines, disposed in excellent order for resisting the fierce attack of the rebels; several pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every second rank instructed to reserve its fire: so that when the Highlanders, having thrown away their muskets, according to custom, advanced with their broad-swords, they were not only received upon the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of musketry, and blown into the air by a concealed artillery. The event was such as William had promised himself. The rebel army, after an ineffectual struggle of thirty minutes, was totally routed, and chased

20. The followers of Charles had indeed much cause for chagrin. They had hoped to attack the king's troops while buried in sleep and security, after celebrating the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Lord George Murray undertook to conduct the enterprise, and every thing seemed to promise success; when, after a march of seven miles, one of the three divisions, into which the rebel army was formed, lost its way through the darkness of the night. The other two divisions advanced two miles further, and within a mile of the royal army, where Lord George Murray suspecting, as is said, from the neighing of a horse, that they were discovered, ordered a retreat (*Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.) On this, the pretender exclaimed that he was betrayed; and the rebels returned to their camp, unperceived, by eight o'clock in the morning; mortified with their disappointment, and stung with the reproach of their prince, whose sanguine spirit would, on that occasion, have been a better guide than the timid caution, if not treachery, of his general.

off the field with great slaughter. The king's troops, but especially the dragoons, irritated by their former disgraces, and the fatigues of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. Near two thousand of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and only three hundred and ten of the royal army²¹.

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, nor any more important in its consequences. All the pretender's hopes, and even his courage, seemed to abandon him with his good fortune. Having too soon left the field of battle, he was advised by lord Lovat to return and rally his forces: he promised, but declined compliance. And although two thousand of his faithful Highlanders resolutely assembled at fort Augustus, and a body of the Lowlanders at Ruthven, in order to know his commands; though a ship arrived from France with forty thousand pounds sterling in specie; and near a thousand men, who had not been at the battle of Culloden, were ready to join him, he desired them all to disperse, and wandered himself under various disguises, in woods and wilds, a wretched fugitive, destitute of the common necessities of life, and in danger every moment of falling into the hands of his enemies. At length, after suffering the most incredible hardships, during five months, in the Highlands and western islands of Scotland, whither he was chased by his blood-thirsty pursuers, a price of thirty thousand pounds being set upon his head; after having entrusted the secret of his life to above fifty different persons, many of whom were in low condition, and who knew, that by betraying him they should be enabled to live in affluence²², he was taken
on

21. *London Gazette*, April 26, 1746, *Contin.* Rapin, ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xi.

22. One poor gentleman, who had no share in the rebellion, but whose humanity had led him to administer to the necessities of Charles, being apprehended and carried before a court of justice, was asked, how he dared to assist the king's greatest enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal subject, he did not deliver up the pretender, and claim the
reward

on board a French frigate, and safely landed on the coast of Brittany.

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, whose name is said to have been Mackenzie, contributed greatly to the escape of the pretender. About the 20th of July, when Charles had fled for safety to the top of the mountain of Mamnyncallum, in Lochaber, the king's troops surprised a party of his followers in a hut, on the side of the mountain, and obliged them to surrender, after an obstinate resistance. One young man, however, made his escape. The prisoners assured the commanding officer that this was the pretender. Animated by the prospect of an immense reward, the soldiers eagerly pursued, and at last overtook the fugitive. They desired him to submit, as resistance would be ineffectual; and intimated that they knew who he was. He seemed to acquiesce in their mistake, but refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince!"—Independent of these generous expressions, the person slain, resembled so much, in all respects, the description of the pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther pursuit: and although government pretended to discredit the report, a general belief of the pretender's death prevailed, and little search was thenceforth made after him²³.

Charles was carressed for a time at the court of France, as there was yet a possibility of his being of farther use;

reward offered by government for his person? "I only gave him, (replied the prisoner,) "what nature seemed to require, a night's lodging, and an humble repast. And who among my judges, though poor as I am, would "have sought to acquire riches, by violating the rights of hospitality, in "order to earn the price of blood!" The court was filled with confusion and amazement at the simple eloquence of this untutored orator: the suit was dismissed, and the prisoner set at liberty.....So much stronger an impression does fellow-feeling, and the sense of natural equity, make on the human breast, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greatest rewards or the severest punishments!

23. *Contin. of Rabin*, vol. ix.

but no sooner was the peace concluded, than he was consigned to the most perfect neglect, and condemned to sufferings more severe than any he had yet experienced. On his refusing to depart the kingdom, he was seized by a party of the guards, pinioned, and conducted to the frontiers, in violation of the most solemn engagements²⁴; a perfidy for which the articles of peace could be no apology, as France had the power of dictating the stipulations of the treaty. He was ruined and betrayed, like many of his ancestors, by those in whom he confided; and with his fortunes, perished the last hopes of the family of Stuart, and of their adherents in the British dominions.

The pretender's sufferings must have been much aggravated by those of his unhappy adherents, unless we suppose him devoid of all the feelings of humanity, and of all sentiments of generous sympathy. Immediately after the battle of Culloden, the royal army entered the rebel country, which was cruelly laid waste with fire and sword. All the cattle and provisions were carried off. The men, hunted down like wild beasts upon the mountains, were shot on the smallest resistance: and not a hut was left standing to shelter the miserable women and children from the inclemency of the weather. They were left to perish of hunger and cold on the barren heaths. In a few weeks, all appearances of rebellion, and almost of population, being exterminated in the Highlands, the duke of Cumberland returned to London as a conqueror; leaving his victorious army, formed into twenty-seven divisions, or flying camps, to take vengeance on the surviving fugitives.

A new scene of horror was now exhibited. The asperity of justice threatened with destruction all whom the relentless sword had spared. And although most of the Highland chiefs had made their escape beyond sea, and many of their followers, the number of rebel

²⁴. Voltaire, *Siecle Louis XV.* chap. xxv.

prisoners of distinction that suffered death was great beyond example, for some centuries, in this island. Courts being opened in different parts of England for their trial, where they could have procured no evidence in their favour, had they been innocent, and where every accuser was admitted, small possibility remained to them of escaping punishment. Seventeen rebel officers were accordingly condemned, and executed at Kennington common, in the neighbourhood of London; nine at Carlisle, six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York. They all behaved with the greatest firmness, and seemed to glory in dying for the cause they had espoused. A few received pardons, and the common men were transported to the plantations²⁵.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried by their peers and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, at the intercession of his lady; the other three were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, a nobleman of elegant accomplishments, but desperate fortune, and who had been educated in the principles of the revolution, died with strong marks of penitence, either from sorrow at having acted contrary to conscience, or in hopes of a pardon; it being observed, that he lifted his head from the block, and looked anxiously around, before the fatal blow was struck. Balmerino, who had been bred a soldier, and who had obeyed the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more resolute manner. He seemed even to exult in his sufferings; but checked his natural boldness, lest it should appear indecent on such an occasion. Lovat, after trying every expedient to save his life, avowed his jacobitism, and died, not only with composure, but dignity; feeling the axe, surveying the croud, and exclaiming, in seeming triumph,

25. Smollett, vol. xi. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!

“ ’Tis great, ’tis noble, thrones usurp’d to shake,
 “ And sweet to die for our dear country’s sake²⁶.”

Thus was extinguished a rebellion, which from small beginnings, rose to an alarming height; and, at one time, threatened a revolution in the state. In order more effectually to eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, and break the refractory spirit of the Highlanders, the heads of clans were deprived of their exclusive hereditary jurisdiction, which they had abused; and people of all ranks were prohibited, by act of parliament, from wearing the ancient dress of their country²⁷.

LETTER XXX.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE TREATY OF DRESDEN, IN DECEMBER, 1745, TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, IN 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden, and the confirmation of that of Breslaw, by finally detaching the king of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a great change in the state of A. D. 1745. the contending powers, but did not dispose them to peace. The king of France, encouraged by his past successes, and by the absence of the British troops, determined to push his conquests in the Low-Countries; and

26. A sentiment so sublime, from the mouth of a man, who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whose sole object was self-interest, forms a severe satire on the common pretensions to patriotism.

27. This act has been since repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. And it is truly extraordinary it should ever have been supposed, that men would become more loyal or submissive because they were compelled to wear breeches.

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the king of Great-Britain, enraged at Lewis for supporting a pretender to his throne, resolved upon vengeance, as soon as the rebellion in Scotland should be finally suppressed. Elated with the exaltation of her husband to the Imperial throne, and having now no enemy to oppose in Germany, the queen of Hungary hoped to be able to give a favourable turn to the war in Italy. She even flattered herself that the circles, or the Germanic body, might be induced to take up arms against France; and that, by the co-operation of England and Holland, all Flanders might be recovered, and the victorious house of Bourbon yet completely humbled.

Of all the hostile powers, the king of France was first in readiness to carry his designs into execution. Mareschal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe, and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governors of the Austrian Netherlands, in the beginning of February. Lewis XV. joined his victorious army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, in the month of April, and obliged the allies under Bathi- A. D. 1746. ani, to retire first to Antwerp, and afterward to Breda. Antwerp was invested, and reduced in a few days. Nothing could withstand the French artillery directed by Lowendahl, or the army conducted by Saxe. Mons, reckoned one of the strongest towns in the world, held out only a few weeks. St. Guislain, and Charleroy were also obliged to submit; and, by the tenth of July, Lewis saw himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant and Hainault.

Before this time, prince Charles of Lorrain had assumed the command of the confederate army; which being reinforced with ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, three British regiments, and twenty-five thousand Hungarians under count Palfy, now amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Concluding that Namur would be the next object of the French monarch,

the prince of Lorraine marched toward that place, and occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood, within sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Mareschal Saxe, who greatly surpassed in abilities all the generals of the allies, not judging it prudent to attack them in so strong a situation, attempted by other means, to accomplish the designs of his master. He accordingly reduced Dinant, in the bishopric of Liege, and thereby acquired the command of the navigation of the Maese above Namur; while Lowendahl, by his direction, took Huy, a town and castle of great importance on the same river, and there seized a large magazine belonging to the confederates.

In consequence of the reduction of those two places, the French became masters of the navigation of the Maese; and by cutting off the communication of the confederates with Maestricht, obliged prince Charles, from scarcity of provisions, to quit his post, and abandon Namur to its fate. This place, rendered famous by many sieges, is situated, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maese. The citadel is built upon a steep rock; and twelve other forts, on the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, seem to render it inaccessible to any attack. The garrison consisted of nine thousand Dutch and Austrians, who defended the works with equal skill and resolution; yet so powerful and well-directed was the fire of the French artillery, that the town was forced to surrender on the sixth, and the citadel on the sixteenth day of the siege.

Meanwhile the confederate army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, being reinforced by some Bavarian and British battalions under sir John Ligonier, prince Charles resolved to give battle to the main body of the enemy, while weakened by the detachment that conducted the siege of Namur. With this view he passed the Maese, and advanced toward the
French

French camp; but found mareschal Saxe so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he judged it prudent to march back to Maestricht. He was severely harassed in his retreat. The confederates, however, behaved with great spirit, and at last even repulsed their pursuers.

But the enterprising Saxe, having soon after formed a junction with the troops that had reduced Namur, passed the Jaar at the head of the whole French army; and the allies, sensible that he meant to attack them, took possession of the Villages of Leirs, Warem, and Roucoux. They drew up their forces in order of battle, and made every preparation for receiving him. At break of day the French army advanced in three ^{OCT. 1.} columns, and about noon a terrible cannonading began. By two o'clock the prince of Waldeck, who commanded on the left of the confederates, and against whom the enemy chiefly directed their force, was compelled to give way. The three villages were attacked, at the same time, by fifty-five battalions, in brigades. As soon as one brigade was repulsed, another advanced; so that the confederates, fatigued with continual fighting, and being, by an unaccountable neglect, in a great measure destitute of artillery, while the French played upon them with above an hundred pieces of cannon, were at last obliged to abandon the villages, and retreat toward Maestricht. They lost five thousand men; and the French, who did not attempt to pursue them, near ten thousand. With this battle, in which the Austrians had little share, and which was attended with no important consequences, the operations of the campaign in the Low-Countries ended. Both armies dissatisfied with the issue of the action, as if ashamed of such an idle waste of blood, went soon after into winter-quarters.

Happily for the allies, the house of Bourbon was less successful this summer in Italy, though artful measures had been taken during the winter, to acquire an absolute superiority over the house of Austria in that country; where

where Don Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them the preceding campaign, were still at the head of powerful armies. Lewis XV. was no sooner informed of the election of the king of Prussia, than he made, without consulting the court of Madrid, advantageous proposals to the king of Sardinia; and these proposals were accepted, and a cessation of hostilities signed'. But Lewis had soon reason to repent his rashness. The king, or rather queen of Spain, who was still at the head of the administration, enraged at any dismemberment of the possessions intended for the Infant Don Philip, reproached the king of France with a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, and although matters were afterward adjusted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia, though so far advanced, broken off, their interests suffered severely by this misunderstanding, which produced a temporary jealousy between the French and Spanish armies. An almost total inaction was the consequence; and that inaction gave rise to new jealousies, and mutual accusations, which led to the greatest misfortunes.

Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, the most politic prince of his time, having in vain solicited the signing of the definitive treaty with France, made himself master of

1. This treaty, which secured to Don Philip, beside Parma and Placentia, a share in the Duchy of Milan and all Cremona, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independency of Italy. It therefore provided that no Italian state should be united to the crown of France, Spain, or the Imperial crown. (*Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.) Such a policy was perfectly sound, and consistent with the character and situation of the king of Sardinia as one of the Italian princes, but treacherous as one of the confederate and subsidiary powers. Yet has the fidelity of his Sardinian majesty been universally extolled, because this treaty, to which he positively acceded, and other secret negotiations and intrigues in which he was engaged, and which were defeated by accidental circumstances, have hitherto remained in a great measure unknown. So precarious a thing is human virtue! and so little connection often have the seemingly meritorious actions of men with the sentiments of honour, or the real motives that influence their conduct.

Asti,

Asti, one of the strongest places in Italy, which was garrisoned with five thousand French troops. The pretext assigned for this violation of his engagements was, the danger of the citadel of Milan falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who were preparing to besiege it; but his true motive was, a desire of recovering the confidence of his old, or of bringing matters to a crisis with his new allies. The success of the measure exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was still amused with assurances of friendship. Don Philip accused Maillebois of treachery, for not attempting to cover Asti². And the Spaniards, having no reliance on their allies, immediately raised the siege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, afraid that his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Austrians, whose strength increased every day in Italy, evacuated all the countries in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Austrian army, under the prince of Lichtenstein, now amounted to forty thousand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-six thousand. Having no formidable enemy to oppose them, by reason of the misunderstanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses; and entering the duchy of Milan, drove Maillebois from Novi, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guastalla, Parma, and other places. Meantime a reconciliation having been brought about between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Don Philip at Placentia, and a resolution was taken to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made and supported with great intrepidity; but so masterly was the conduct of the prince of Lichtenstein, and so obstinate the courage

2. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv. And he would have ordered that general to be arrested, had his heat not been moderated by the count de Gages, who commanded under him. *Id. ibid.*

of the Austrians, that the assailants were compelled to retire, after a bloody contest of nine hours, leaving six thousand men dead on the field and about an equal number wounded.

Soon after this disaster, Don Philip and his associates received intelligence of an event which threw them into new perplexity; namely, the death of Philip V. of Spain. Weak, but virtuous, he was governed successively by two ambitious women, who infused fresh spirit into the Spanish councils, and roused him, notwithstanding his natural indolence, to the most vigorous measures, and most arduous enterprises. The first prince of the house of Bourbon, who sat upon the Spanish throne, under his reign, the slumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the splendour of the monarchy. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand VI. who at first embraced with ardour the principles of the union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon, and resolved steadily to pursue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farnese, the queen-dowager, who still directed the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, however, ignorant of the sentiments of the new king in regard to the Italian war, and hard pressed by the allies, were desirous of securing a communication with France. A retreat was accordingly agreed upon. This was thought a desperate expedient, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Austrian army, and assumed the chief command. But without the assurance of immediate support, it was perhaps the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being shut up between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebia, by a vastly superior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, son of the mareschal of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear; yet could they not prevent the king
of

of Sardinia from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Fredo, where they behaved with great gallantry, but sustained a severe loss. The surrender of Placentia, which was defended by four thousand men, under the marquis de Castello, was the consequence of this victory.

The Piedmontese and Austrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, assisted by the generals Botta and Brown, (prince Lichtenstein having been obliged to retire on account of his ill state of health) now advanced to Tortona, which was surrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took shelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here it was expected they would have made a stand, as that city, by its situation, is very capable of defence. But the marquis de las Minas, who had succeeded the count de Gages in the command under Don Philip, did not judge it prudent to hazard the loss of the remains of the Spanish army. Maillebois concurred in his opinion; so that the Genoese, after repeated assurances of support, were abandoned to their fate. Don Philip retired toward Savoy, which was still in his possession, and Maillebois into Provence.

The retreat of the French and Spaniards was immediately followed by the surrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was subjected to the most humiliating conditions, and the proud city loaded with oppressive and arbitrary contributions. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, the Austrian general, to whom the command of the place had been committed, exceeded all description. And he was encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna; which, deaf to the supplications of a distressed people, seemed determined to reduce the Genoese to the lowest state of wretchedness. His most cruel exactions, and even those of Coteck, the commissary-general, who surpassed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate.

The Austrian and Piedmontese armies having now no enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed, for a time, in deliberating toward what quarter they
should

should turn their arms. Botta, who knew how much the heart of his mistress was set upon recovering Naples, proposed that the Genoese should be compelled to furnish transports for invading that kingdom. And had such invasion been instantly undertaken, it could not have failed of success, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beside those in the army of Don Philip.

The consequences of such a conquest to Great-Britain would have been of the utmost importance. Spain, in that event, would have been under the necessity of deserting France, and concluding a separate peace. And she would have been obliged to purchase it with the sacrifice of her most valuable commercial interests, by giving up her exclusive right to the trade of her American dominions. The two great branches of the house of Bourbon would have been disunited; and England and Austria would have given law to France, after having obtained their own conditions from the catholic king³.

But the king of Sardinia had other interests to manage. He desired nothing less than to see the house of Austria all-powerful in Italy. He therefore persuaded the court of London, which held the purse, and consequently took the lead, in the course of a long and expensive war, that it would be more advantageous to the common cause to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the British fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Marseilles, might speedily be reduced. The consent of the court of Vienna was obtained, and count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thousand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he laid the whole country under contribution; while baron Roth invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded by a British squadron, under vice-admiral Medley. But the mareschal de Belleisle, a man fruitful in resources, and intimately acquainted with the whole science of war, hav-

3. *Mém. de Nouilles*, tom. iv. *Mémoire sur les Affaires d'Italie*.

ing succeeded Maillebois in the command of the French army, so effectually cut off the provisions of the invaders, and otherwise harassed them, that the Austrian general, though able, active, and enterprising, found himself under the necessity of repassing the Var; and the siege of Antibes was relinquished, after many fruitless efforts, both by sea and land; the place being gallantly defended by the chevalier de Sade.

The utter failure of this expedition was partly owing to a very singular change of fortune in Italy. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to despair by the oppressions of the Austrians, had risen against their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they seemed inspired with all their ancient spirit of liberty, when they felt the galling fetters of slavery, and resolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had wanted valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpose by some of the senators, who also directed their measures, they flew to arms, determined to perish to a man, rather than live any longer in such cruel and ignominious servitude. And so firm was their perseverance in this resolution, and so vigorous the impulse by which they were actuated, that the marquis de Botta, after having sustained great loss, in a variety of struggles, and been driven from every important post, was obliged finally to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoese stop here: they took the most effectual steps for their future security, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors.

The naval transactions of this year do little honour to the British flag. Nothing of any importance happened in the West-Indies. In the East-Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded six stout ships, shamefully declined a second engagement with a French squadron of equal or inferior force; and La Bourdonnais, the French commander, in consequence of Peyton's cowardice, made himself master of the English settlement at Madras, on the coast of Coromandel. No event of any consequence

happened on the coast of North-America, though the campaign in that quarter seemed big with the greatest revolutions.

The British ministry, encouraged by the taking of Louisburgh, and the consequent conquest of the island of Cape-Breton, had projected the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada, or New-France, situated on the river St. Laurence, and accessible to ships of the greatest force. Intelligence to this purpose was accordingly sent to the governors of the English colonies in North-America, and a body of provincial troops was raised, in order to favour the attempt. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portsmouth, and every thing seemed to promise success. But the sailing of the fleet and transports was postponed by unaccountable delays, till the season of action in those climates was past. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprise, that the armament might not seem altogether useless to the nation. A descent was made on the coast of France, in hopes of surprising port l'Orient, the repository of the stores belonging to the French East-India company. But this project also failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and shewing the possibility of hurting France in her very vitals, by means of such an armament, if well appointed and vigorously conducted. Lestock, who commanded the fleet, did not properly second the efforts of the army; which being beside destitute of heavy cannon, could make no impression on the place⁴.

The French miscarried in an enterprise of a similar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Brest for the recovery of Cape-Breton, and the reduction of the English settlement of Annapolis. It consisted of near forty ships of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ships, and fifty six transports, laden with provisions and military stores, and carrying three thousand five hundred land forces, and forty

4. *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix. Smollett, vol. xi.*

thousand stand of small arms, for the use of the Canadians and Indians in the French interest, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet sailed in June, but did not reach the coast of Nova-Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed on board the transports; and the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated storms, and either wrecked or dispersed. D'Anville, the admiral, made his way with a few ships to Quebec; while de la Jonquier, who commanded the land-forces, and had boasted that he would subdue all the English settlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to a handful, returned to France without attempting any thing⁵.

The court of Versailles having discovered a seeming desire of peace, a congress was opened at Breda, toward the close of the campaign; but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increase of vigour and animosity. The states-general, who had hitherto acted a shamefully timid and disingenuous part, more hurtful than beneficial to the cause they pretended to aid, now became seriously sensible of their danger, and of the necessity of a closer alliance with the courts of London and Vienna, or of throwing themselves into the arms of France, resolved to take effectual measures for opposing the designs of that powerful and ambitious neighbour. With this view, they engaged to augment their quota of troops, in the Netherlands, to forty thousand: the king of Great-Britain agreed to furnish an equal number; and the empress-queen, supported by British money, promised to send sixty thousand Austrians to act in conjunction with them. Beside this grand army, intended to set bounds to the conquests of Lewis XV. an army of ninety thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under the king of Sardinia, another sovereign in British pay, was to enter Provence,

5. Millet. Voltaire.

while a smaller body should keep the king of Naples in awe.

Nor was the house of Bourbon unprepared for such a competition. The king of France had ordered an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to be assembled in the Netherlands; and in order to give greater firmness to this immense force, he renewed in the person of mareschal Saxe the title of *mareschal de camp generale*, which had been conferred on the famous Turenne, and which gave him a superiority over all the mareschals of France, and even princes of the blood. The Spanish army, under don Philip, in Savoy, was considerably augmented, and sixty thousand French troops were appointed to act in Provence. A final trial of strength seemed resolved on by all parties.

The grand army of the confederates took the field, in three bodies, toward the end of March. The duke of A. D. 1747. Cumberland, with the British troops, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head-quarters at Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant; the prince of Waldeck, with the troops of the states-general, was posted at Breda; and mareschal Bathiani assembled the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army, which amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand men, lay inactive for six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provisions; while mareschal Saxe, sensible that the first care of a general is the health of his soldiers, kept his troops warm within their cantonements at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, furnished with plenty of every thing, and under no necessity of encountering unavailing fatigues. This inactivity, which is said to have been occasioned by the negligence of the Dutch and Austrian commissioners, deprived the confederates of all the advantages they had promised themselves from an early campaign, beside damping the ardour of the troops, and weakening them by sickness.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile mareschal Saxe, having settled with the French ministry the plan of operations, took the field at the head of a prodigious army; and immediately detached count Lowendahl, with APRIL 16. twenty-seven thousand men, to invade Dutch Brabant. At the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States, in the name of his master, notifying, that his most christian majesty, in thus entering the territories of the republic (a step to which he was forced by the necessity of war) had no design of coming to a rupture with their high mightinesses. He meant only to obviate the dangerous effect of the protection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; that he had accordingly enjoined the commander of his troops to observe the strictest discipline, and on no account to offer any disturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. And he concluded with declaring, that he would consider the places and countries he should be obliged to take possession of for his own security, merely as a pledge, which he promised to restore, as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer assist the enemies of his crown.

While the states-general were deliberating on this memorial, which was chiefly intended to amuse the Dutch populace, Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandburg, Hulst, and many other fortified places of no small importance; the confederates, though reinforced with seven thousand British troops, not daring to oppose his progress. They were obliged by their position to cover Breda and Boisleduc; and all their motions were jealously watched by mareschal Saxe, who covered Antwerp, and the other French conquests in the Low-Countries, with an hundred and twenty thousand men⁶. Thus secure, Lowendahl pushed his con-

6. *Mém. de Saxe.*

quests in Dutch Brabant; and having taken possession of Axel and Terneuse, was making preparations for a descent upon Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themselves betrayed by their rulers, clamoured loudly against the ministry of the republic. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect so favourable an opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged the discontents of the people; they exaggerated the public danger; they reminded their countrymen of the year 1672, when Louis XIV. was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the election of a stadtholder. And they exhorted their fellow-citizens to turn their eyes on William Henry Frizo, the lineal descendant of those heroes, who had established the liberty and independency of the United Provinces; extolling his virtues and talents, his ability, generosity, justice, and unshaken love of his country.

Inflamed by such representations, and their apparently desperate situation, the people rose in many places, and compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William III. His popularity daily increased; and at last, after being elected by
MAY 15. several particular provinces, he was appointed, in the general assembly of the states, “stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral in chief, of all the United Provinces.”

On that occasion, count Bentinck, who introduced the new stadtholder, addressed the states-general in the following words:—“I doubt not but the prince I have
“the honour to present to you, will tread in the steps
“of his glorious ancestors: will heartily concur with us
“in delivering from danger the republic now invaded,
“and preserve us from the yoke of a treacherous and
“deceitful

“deceitful neighbour, who makes a jest of good faith, honour, and the most solemn treaties.”

The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures. The states-general immediately gave orders, That no provisions or warlike stores, should be exported out of their dominions, except for the use of the allied army; that a fleet should be equipped, and the militia regularly armed and disciplined. They sent agents to several German courts, in order to treat for the hire of thirty thousand additional troops to their army; a council of war was established, for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-towns; and orders were issued for commencing hostilities against the subjects of France, both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

During all these transactions the duke of Cumberland lay inactive, over-awed by the superior generalship, rather than the superior force, of the French commander, who still continued to watch him. At length the king of France arrived at Brussels, and it was resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. With that view mareschal Saxe, having called in his detachments, advanced MAY 22. towards Louvain; and the confederates, perceiving his design, endeavoured by forced marches to get possession of the heights of Herdeeren, an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of the threatened city. But in this they were disappointed. The enemy had occupied the post before their arrival, and were preparing to rush down upon them, in order to get between their main body and Maestricht, by turning their left wing. An engagement was now become unavoidable. The duke of Cumberland, therefore, disposed his army in order of battle, on the evening of the 30th of June; and very judiciously directed some regiments of British infantry, during the night, to take possession of the village of Val,

in the front of his left wing, which extended to Wirle, within a few miles of Maestricht and was composed of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians. The Austrians, under mareschal Bathiani, who lay at Bilsen, composed the right of the confederate army; and the Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, occupied the centre.

Matters being thus prepared, both armies waited with
 JULY 1. impatience the approach of morning. As soon as it was light, the French cavalry made a great shew upon the heights of Herdeeren, in order to conceal the motions of their infantry; which appeared, soon after, coming down into the plain, through a valley between the hills, near Rempert formed in a vast column, of nine or ten battalions in front and as many deep, and bearing directly on the village of Val. They suffered severely, in their approach, from the artillery of the confederates; and the British musketry saluted them with so warm a fire, that the front of the column was broken and dispersed. Not discouraged by this repulse, fresh battalions continued to advance to the attack, with wonderful alacrity and perseverance; so that the British troops in Val, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were at last obliged to give way. Being, however, opportunely supported by three fresh regiments, they recovered their footing in the village, and drove out the enemy with great slaughter. The battle now wore so favourable an aspect, that the duke of Cumberland ordered the action to be made general; and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when certain unforeseen circumstances disappointed their hopes.

The motion of the Austrians under Bathiani, on the right wing of the allied army, was so slow as to be equal to an almost total inaction; so that mareschal Saxe,
 apprehending

3 This inaction of the Austrian general is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstances. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was supposed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, mareschal

apprehending no danger from that quarter, was able to turn the whole weight of the French army against the village of Val, and not only finally to regain possession of it, after it had been three times lost and won, but to break entirely the left wing of the confederates, in spite of all the efforts of the duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with great courage, and no inconsiderable share of conduct. The Dutch in the centre, instead of supporting the broken wing, fell back in disorder, and overthrew in their flight, five Austrian battalions that were advancing slowly to the charge. The French followed their blow; and having totally routed the centre, divided the right wing of the allied army from the left. At this dangerous crisis, when mareschal Saxe hoped to cut off the retreat of the confederates, and even to make the duke of Cumberland his captive, sir John Ligonier, who commanded the British cavalry, rushed at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of heavy horse, upon the victorious enemy. He bore down every thing before him; and although he was himself taken prisoner, by pursuing too far, he procured the duke of Cumberland time to collect his scattered forces, and to retire without molestation to Maestricht. The confederates lost about five, and the French near ten thousand men⁹.

Such was the obstinate and bloody, but partial battle of Val, or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly: and if properly supported, would have gained a complete victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Lewis XV. that “the English not only paid all, but fought all!”—The action was followed by no

mareschal Bathiani asked permission of the duke of Cumberland, to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. The duke, instead of acceding to the proposal, asked him, by way of reply, where he should be found, in case he was wanted. “I shall always be found,” said Bathiani, “at the head of my troops!” and retired in disgust.

9. *Contin. of Rapin. ubi sup.* London *Gazette*, July 2, 1747.

important consequences. The duke of Cumberland having reinforced the garrison of Maestricht, passed the Maese, in the neighbourhood of that city, and extended his army toward Wist, in the duchy of Limburg. The French army remained at Tongres, near the field of battle; and mareschal Saxe, after amusing the confederates for a while, with various and contracting movements, suddenly detached count Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Coehorn.

This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable; as, beside its great natural and artificial strength, it can at all times be supplied with ammunition and provisions, in spite of the besiegers, by means of two canals, called the old and new harbour, which communicate with the Scheld, and are navigable every tide. It was defended by a garrison of three thousand men, under the prince of Hesse Philipstahl, when Lowendahl sat down before it; and the prince of Saxe Hildburghausen, who was sent to its relief, with an army of twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons, took possession of the lines belonging to the fortifications, and from which the garrison could be reinforced on the shortest notice. As soon as the trenches were opened, old baron Cronstrom, governor of Dutch Brabant, assumed the command in the town, and preparations were

JULY 15. made for the most vigorous defence. Meanwhile Lowendahl conducted his operations with great judgment and spirit; and although he lost a number of men, in his approaches, by the warm and unremitted fire of the garrison, he was so effectually and speedily reinforced, by detachments from the army under mareschal Saxe, that he began very early to have hopes of success. He was even attempting to storm two of the out forts, when lord John Murray's regiment of Scottish Highlanders, by a desperate sally, beat off the assailants, and burnt some of their principal batteries. Other

sallies

sallies were made with effect; mines were sprung on both sides, and every instrument of destruction employed, for the space of six weeks after this repulse. Nothing was to be seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon; the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage!—And the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, seemed still doubtful, as the works were yet in a great measure entire, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by assault.

That experienced general, and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, having observed a ravelin; and two bastions somewhat damaged, resolved to storm all three at once. As the breaches were not such as could be deemed practicable, the governor had taken no precaution against an assault: and that very circumstance induced Lowendahl, presuming on such negligence, to hazard the attempt. He accordingly assembled his troops in the dead of the night; when the ordinary centinels only were on duty, and the greater part of the garrison was buried in security and repose. The assault was made at four in the morning, by the French grenadiers, who threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sallyport, and entered the place almost without resistance. The Highlanders, however, assembled in the market-place, and fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. But that was the only opposition the assailants met with. The troops in the lines instantly disappeared; all the forts in the neighbourhood surrendered; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. SEPT. 14.

The news of this event occasioned great surprise at London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmost consternation. The joy of the French was proportionally great. Lewis XV. no sooner received intelligence of the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, than he

promoted count Lowendahl to the rank of a mareschal of France; and having appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, he returned in triumph to Versailles. "The peace," said the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maestricht !"—But the siege of that important place being reserved for the next campaign, both the French and the allies went into winter quarters, without engaging in any new enterprise.

Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally successful on the frontiers of Italy, during this campaign; although the mareschal de Belleisle, early in the season, saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence, which threatened to carry every thing before it. He passed the Var, in the month of April, and took possession of Nice. He reduced Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia almost without resistance, and obliged the Austrians, under count Brown, to retire toward Final and Savona. Nor were these the most important consequences of his expedition.

The court of Vienna, enraged at the revolt of the Genoese, was resolved to reduce them again to subjection, and severely to chastise the capital of the republic. Count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the marquis de Botta in the chief command of Italy, was accordingly ordered to invest Genoa, with a powerful army of Austrians and Piedmontese. Meanwhile the king of France, sensible of the importance of that city to the cause of the house of Bourbon, had remitted large sums, in order to enable the inhabitants to put it in a posture of defence; and, beside engineers and officers to discipline the troops of the republic, he sent thither a body of four thousand five hundred men, under the duke of Boufflers, for the greater security of the place, and to animate the Genoese to a bold resistance. The design took effect. The citizens of Genoa resolved to perish rather than again submit to the Austrians. But the force sent against them made their fate very doubtful.

Schuylemberg, assembled his army in the duchy of Milan, in the month of January; and having forced the passage of the Bochetta, entered the territories of Genoa, and appeared before the capital at the head of near forty thousand men. As the inhabitants obstinately refused to lay down their arms, and even treated with derision the proposal made them of submitting to the clemency of the court of Vienna; the place was regularly invested, and although the Genoese behaved with great spirit in several sallies, animated by the example of the French troops under the duke of Boufflers, the Austrian general conducted his operations with so much skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he must at last have accomplished his enterprize, had not his attention been diverted to another quarter. Alarmed at the progress of the mareschal de Belleisle, the king of Sardinia and count Brown represented to Schuylemberg the necessity of raising the siege of Genoa, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy. He accordingly drew off his army, and joined his Sardinian majesty, to the great joy of the Genoese; who, in revenge of the injuries they had suffered, ravaged the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

The apprehensions of the king of Sardinia for his hereditary dominions were by no means groundless. While the mareschal de Belleisle lay at Ventimiglia, his brother, the chevalier, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont, by the way of Dauphiny, at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards, emulous of glory under so gallant a leader. When he arrived at the Pass of Exiles, a strong post on the north side of the river Doria, he found fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians waiting for him, behind ramparts of wood and stone, lined with artillery: and all the passes of the Alps were secured by detachments of the same troops. Not discouraged by those obstacles, Belleisle attacked the Piedmontese entrenchments with great intrepidity. But he was repulsed

with loss in three successive assaults; and being determined to perish rather than survive a miscarriage, he seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through an incessant fire, planted them with his own hand on the enemy's battlements¹⁰. At that instant he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet and two musket balls in his body. Many other officers of distinction were killed; and the survivors, discouraged by the loss of their brave commander, retired with precipitation, leaving behind them about five thousand slain.

The mareschal de Belleisle was no sooner informed of his brother's fate, than he retreated toward the Var, in order to join the unfortunate army from Exiles. About the same time, the king of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiny with an invasion. But excessive rains prevented the execution of the enterprize, and the campaign was closed without any other memorable event.

The naval transactions of this year were more favourable to Great-Britain than those of any other during the war. Her success was great almost beyond example, but more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement. The English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren, consisting of eleven sail of the line, three ships of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of six sail of the line in the beginning of May, off Cape Finisterre. The French fleet was commanded by the marquis de la Jonquiere and Mons. St. George, having under their convoy thirty-six ships laden with stores and merchandise, bound for America and the East-Indies. The battle

10. Voltaire represents the chevalier de Belleisle as attempting to pull up the palisades with his teeth, after being wounded in both arms. 'This is a perfectly ludicrous image; and admitting the assumed fact to be true, utterly inconsistent with the dignity of history. But it is by no means uncommon, even with the best French writers, to excite laughter, when they attempt the sublime.

began

began about four in the afternoon: and although the French seamen and commanders behaved with singular courage, and discovered no want of conduct, six ships of war and four armed East-Indiamen were taken¹¹. About six weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island, and took forty-six of them.

Admiral Hawke was no less successful. He sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Brittany; and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Mons. de Letendear. On the 14th of October, the two squadrons came within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when six French ships of the line struck to the British flag¹². The rest escaped under cover of the darkness; having all maintained, with great obstinacy, a gallant but unequal fight.

These naval victories, which in a manner annihilated the French fleet, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron, and a considerable body of land-forces, for the East-Indies, where it was conjectured he would not only recover Madras but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Lewis XV. to think seriously of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low-Countries. Other causes conspired to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted: the trade of his subjects was utterly ruined: and he could no longer depend upon supplies from the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The

11. Lond. Gazette, May 16, 1747. *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. ix.

12. Lond. Gazette, Oct. 26, 1747.

success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands; but the election of a stadtholder, by uniting the force of the states-general against him, left little hopes of future conquests in that quarter; especially as the British parliament, whose resources were yet copious, and whose liberality seemed to know no bounds, had enabled their sovereign to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the empress of Russia, who engaged to hold in readiness an army of thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France made advances toward an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, being heartily tired of the war, it was agreed to open a new congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions.

In the mean time, vigorous preparations for war were made in every quarter; but the preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a cessation of arms took place, before any enterprize of consequence was undertaken, except the siege of Maestricht. Mareschal Saxe invested that important place in the beginning of April; and he concerted his measures with so much judgment, that Lowendahl was enabled to carry on his operations without interruption, though the army of the confederates, under the duke of Cumberland, to the number of an hundred and ten thousand men, lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The town was defended by twenty-four battalions of Dutch and Austrian troops, commanded by baron d'Aylva, who opposed the besiegers with great skill and resolution. They prosecuted
their

their approaches, however, with incredible ardour; and effected, at last, a lodgment in the covered way, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops. But they were dislodged the next day, by the gallantry of the garrison, which acquired fresh courage from this success.

Such was the doubtful and even unfavourable state of the siege of Maestricht, when intelligence arrived of the signing of the preliminaries, and orders for a cessation of arms. Yet was it agreed by the plenipotentiaries, "That, for the glory of the arms of his most christian majesty," the place should be immediately surrendered to his general, but restored on the conclusion of the peace, with all its magazines and artillery. A. D. 1748. Mareschal Saxe accordingly took possession. MAY 3. of Maestricht, while the garrison marched out with the customary honours of war.

But although the negociation was thus far advanced in the beginning of summer, so many were the difficulties started by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, that it was the month of October before matters could be finally settled. Meanwhile hostilities were carried on both in the East and West-Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French settlement of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel; and admiral Knowles, in an attack upon St. Jago de Cuba. Knowles, however, took port Lewis, on the south side of Hispaniola, and demolished the fortifications¹³. He also defeated, off the Havanna, a Spanish squadron of equal force with his own, and took one ship of the line. At length the OCT. 7. definitive treaty was signed, and hostilities ceased in all quarters.

This treaty had for its basis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties, from that of Westphalia downward; and for its immediate object, as the means of a general

13. *Contin. of Rapin, vol. ix.*

pacificatoin, a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provide, that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, Guastalla, shall be ceded, as a sovereignty, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but it was also stipulated, that, in case he or his descendants shall succeed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, or die without male issue, those territories shall return to the present possessors, the empress-queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their descendants;) that the subjects of his Britannic majesty shall enjoy the assiento contract, with the privilege of the annual ship, during the rever-sionary term of four years, which it has been suspended by the war; (but no mention was made of the right of English ships to navigate the American seas without being subject to search, though the indignation occasioned by the violation of that contested right, had solely given rise to the war between Great-Britain and Spain:) that all the contracting powers shall guarantee to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he now possesses them: and that such of the same powers as have guaranteed the pragmatic sanction of the emperor Charles VI. for securing to his daughter, the present empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the undivided succession of the house of Austria, shall renew their engagements in the most solemn manner, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties¹⁴.

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been so generally, and so unjustly censured by English writers, who ought rather to have censured the wanton war, and the wasteful and unskilful manner of conducting it. The peace was as good as the confederates had any right to expect. They had been, upon the whole, exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, without sustaining a defeat; and there was

14. *Articles of Peace*, *ibid*.

no prospect of their being more successful, had they even been reinforced by the thirty thousand Russians hired, while the same generals commanded on both sides. But matters were so ill managed, that the Russians could not have joined them till the season of action would have been nearly over; and had they been ready more early, it is believed that the king of Prussia would have interposed, from a jealousy of the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, on whose embarrassments he depended for the quiet possession of his conquests. The resources of France were indeed nearly exhausted:—her navy was destroyed: and Lewis XV. made sacrifices proportioned to his necessities. But great as his necessities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progress of his arms during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into submission. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hostile powers, left separately at the mercy of the house of Bourbon, must have acceded to worse conditions; or England must have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous continental war, in which she had properly no interest.

But although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all circumstances considered, cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an ill-timed measure, it must be lamented, that it was the necessary consequence of such a long and fruitless war—of a war, singular in the annals of mankind; by which, after a prodigious destruction of the human species, and a variety of turns of fortune, all parties, the king of Prussia excepted, whose selfish and temporising policy it is impossible to justify, may be said to have been losers¹⁵.

This

15. The settlement, procured for Don Philip in Italy, might have been obtained on the death of the emperor Charles VI. if the house of Bourbon had confined its views merely to that object; and admitting that it could not, it was a very inadequate equivalent for the expenses and losses of the two branches of that house, by land and sea, during the course of the

This reflection more particularly strikes us, in contemplating the infatuation of France and Great-Britain: of the former, in lavishing such a quantity of blood and treasure, in order to give an emperor to Germany; and of the latter, in neglecting her most essential interests, in withdrawing her attention from Spanish America, and loading her subjects with an immense public debt, in order to preserve entire the succession of the house of Austria! but more especially the folly of both in continuing the war, for several years, after the object of it was lost on one side, and attained on the other. Nor can we, as Englishmen, in taking such a survey, help looking back, without peculiar regret, to the peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; when the commerce and manufactures of Great-Britain flourished to so high a degree, that the balance of trade in her favour amounted, on an average, to the immense sum of four millions sterling annually¹⁶.

Let us not, however, my dear Philip, dwell wholly on the dark side of the picture. So great an influx of wealth, without any extraordinary expenditure, or call to bold enterprise, must soon have produced a total dissolution of manners; and the British nation, overwhelmed with luxury and effeminacy, might have sunk into early decline. The martial spirit, which seemed to languish for want of exercise, was revived by the war. The English navy, which had been suffered to go to decay, was restored, and that of France ruined. This last advantage was, in itself, worth many millions of treasure: and it was eventually productive of a multitude of beneficial consequences. A desire of re-establishing their marine was one of the chief motives that induced the French ministry to grant such

the war. The king of Sardinia, after all his subsidies, and some cessions made to him, was a loser; and the queen of Hungary could have dictated better conditions in 1742, when the French were driven out of Bohemia, than she at last acceded to. Even the king of Prussia obtained no more than was ceded to him by the treaty of Breslaw, concluded the same year.

16. Chalmer's *Estimate*, p. 37.

favourable conditions to the confederates at Aix-la-Chapelle; they having already formed the design, as will afterward more fully appear, of extending their settlements both in America and the East-Indies.

LETTER XXXI.

FRANCE, SPAIN, AND GREAT-BRITAIN, FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, TO THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES IN 1755, WITH A GENERAL VIEW OF THE DISPUTES IN THE EAST-INDIES, AND A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF THE WAR IN AMERICA.

THE few years of peace, that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were the most prosperous and happy that Europe had ever known. Arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished: society was highly polished; and the intercourse of mankind, of nations and of ranks, was rendered more facile and general than in any former period, by means of new roads, new vehicles, and new amusements. This was more especially the case in France and England, and between the people of the two rival kingdoms; who, forgetting past animosities, seemed only to contend for pre-eminence in gaiety, refinement, and mutual civilities.

That harmony, however, was disturbed for a time, by alarming tumults in England, and by a violent dispute between the clergy and the parliaments of France, which threatened a rebellion in the two kingdoms. But both subsided without any important or lasting consequence. The first were the effects of the wantonness of the common people of England, rioting in opulence and plenty, and not sufficiently restrained by a regular police: the second, the indication of a rising spirit of liberty among the more enlightened part of the French laity; as I shall have occasion

occasion to shew, in carrying forward the progress of society, where the particulars of the dispute will be mentioned¹. Meanwhile the two governments turned on one another a watchful eye; and a long season of tranquillity was expected from the awe with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

The French ministry had formed the plan of dispossessing the English of their principal settlements both in America and the East-Indies, or at least of considerably extending their own, (as I have already had occasion to hint) when they concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In these ambitious projects they were encouraged by two able and enterprising men, by la Galissoniere, governor of Canada, and M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. But in order to insure success in such distant expeditions, it was necessary for France to restore her marine, and even to raise it, if possible, to a superiority over that of Great-Britain. With this view, prodigious efforts were made: naval stores were imported from all the northern kingdoms; a great number of ships were built at Brest and Toulon; and contracts were entered into with different companies in Sweden, for building eighteen sail of the line.

But nothing is attended with so much expense as the raising or restoring a navy. The French finances, though recruiting fast, were not equal to the extraordinary drain. Repeated attempts were therefore made, by the leading men in France, to engage the court of Spain, whose American treasures were now got home in safety, to enter into their ambitious views; and proposals for a family-compact, such as has since been formed, were exhibited to the Spanish ministry, in 1753, by the duke de Duras, the French ambassador at the court of Madrid, under the direction of the duke de Noailles.

When the duke de Duras insisted on the importance of an union between the two crowns, he was told that such an

1. See LET. XXXVI.

union was already established by the treaty of Fontainebleau; an irrevocable family-compact, and to perfect which it was only necessary to cut off what related to last war. The duke de Duras was ignorant such a treaty existed, and Saint Contest, the French minister for foreign affairs, seemed inclined to keep him in the dark; but the duke de Noailles furnished him with a copy of it, accompanied with observations, which may be considered as the basis of that formidable family-compact which was afterward concluded. He maintained, that the treaty of Fontainebleau, almost all the articles of which related to the late war, and the execution of which, in many particulars, (such as the recovery of the island of Minorca and the fortress of Gibraltar to Spain) had been rendered impossible by circumstances, was in a manner annulled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; that a true family-compact, such as it was equally the interest of France and Spain to contract for their mutual advantage, which should have for its objects the securing to two branches of the house of Bourbon on the two thrones, and the preservation of their dominions; the glory and greatness of both kingdoms; ought not only to be irrevocable, but independent of time and circumstances; to be affected neither by peace nor war².

All the French intrigues, however, were defeated by the penetration, vigilance, and address of Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, supported by the credit of the judicious and intelligent Mr. Wall, a gentleman of Irish extraction, who had long resided as Spanish ambassador at the court of London; and by the still more powerful influence of Farinelli, the famous Italian singer, who entirely governed the queen, a princess of Portugal, whose ascendant over her husband was absolute and uncontrollable³.

2. *Mem. Politiq. et Militaires, composés sur les Pièces Originales recueillies par Adrien Maurice, duc de Noailles, mareschal de France et ministre d'etat, par M. l'Abbé Millot, tom. iv.*

3. *Ibid.*

The naturally pacific Ferdinand, though well affected toward the elder branch of his family, was thus induced to disregard all the splendid allurements of the court of Versailles, and all insinuations to the disadvantage of that of Great-Britain, as insidious attempts to drag him into a new war. In answer to a memorial presented by the French ambassador, in 1754, on the subject of the family-compact, and accompanied with a letter, in which Louis XV. mentions the patience, beyond measure, with which he had suffered the unjust proceedings of England for four years, the catholic king declared, That he was sensible of the importance of the harmony between the two crowns, and between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; but having always an eye to the general tranquillity of Europe, and the jealousy which a formal compact would excite, he thought it the interest of the two monarchies to avoid such a measure; and that the differences with England would be better composed, through the mediation of the allied powers, than by a threatening league⁴.

Withdrawing his heart wholly from ambition, the Spanish monarch therefore placed all his glory in reviving commerce, and encouraging arts and manufactures, too long neglected among his subjects. He disgraced the marquis de la Encenada, his prime minister, for endeavouring, in conjunction with Elizabeth Farnese, the queen-dowager, to alter his measures; and Wall being placed at the head of the administration, the same wise and pacific measures were pursued during the subsequent part of the reign of Ferdinand VI.

The disgrace of Encenada, which happened when all things seemed ripe for a perpetual league between France and Spain, gave a fatal blow to the projects of the court of Versailles. But the French ministry had already gone too far, to be tamely forgiven by Great-Britain. They were sensible of it; and as their navy was not yet in full force, they attempted, though too late, to disarm

4. Noailles, ubi supra.

resentment, and conciliate favour, by an hypocritical appearance of moderation. Their views were obvious to all Europe. And when they found they could no longer deceive, or sooth the court of London, they attempted to intimidate it, by threatening the German dominions of George II. in hopes that the apprehension of this danger would make their encroachments in America be winked at, until they were in a condition to avow their purpose. But before we enter upon that subject, a variety of others must be discussed. A view must be taken of the state of the settlements of the rival powers in both extremities of the globe.

Though Madras was restored to the English East-India company, and Louisbourg to the French monarchy, agreeable to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, hostilities between the subjects of France and England could never be said properly to have ceased, either in North-America or the East-Indies. The taking of those two important places, and the ineffectual attempts to recover them, had irritated the spirit of the two nations. And plans were laid by each, as we have seen, during the latter years of the war, for the conquest of the principal settlements belonging to the other, both in the East-Indies and in North-America. But those plans proved abortive. And all such ambitious projects seem to have been relinquished on the part of Great-Britain, at the peace; for, although she gave up Louisbourg with reluctance, that reluctance proceeded less from any purpose of extending her possessions in North-America, than from an apprehension of the injuries and inconveniences to which it would again expose her colonies, in case of a new war. The views of France were very different, when she, with no less reluctance, restored Madras to the English East-India company.

M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, having gallantly defended that place against the British armament under Boscawen, in 1748, immediately conceived the great idea of advancing the interests of the French East-India company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia; and even of making himself master,

by degrees, of the whole peninsula, of India Proper. On the two sides of that vast peninsula, which projects out into the sea to the extent of a thousand miles, and occupies the immense space between the widely separated mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, the European companies have established many factories. The west side is called Malabar, and the east the Coromandel coast. This extensive and fertile territory chiefly belongs to the great mogul. But the successors of Aurengzebe (the last of the descendants of Tamerlane, the illustrious Tartar conqueror of Indostan, who maintained with vigour supreme dominion in the East) had sunk into a state of indolence and effiminacy; and since the irruption of the famous Kouli Khan, in 1738, had possessed so little authority, that all the great officers of the crown were become in a manner independent princes. The subahs, or Mahometan viceroys of provinces; the nabobs, or governors of inferior districts; and even the rajas, or tributary Indian princes, now began to consider themselves as absolute sovereigns; paying to the mogul emperors any homage they thought proper, and frequently making war on one another.

The better to carry his grand scheme into execution, Dupleix formed the project of making subahs and nabobs; and even of becoming a nabob himself. In this project he was encouraged by his own situation and the circumstances of the times. The late war had brought a number of French troops to Pondicherry, and the state of affairs in India was highly propitious to his views.

The subahship of the Decan, which extends from Cape Comorin almost to the Ganges, having become vacant in 1748, and being claimed by different competitors, Dupleix and his associates, after a series of bold enterprises and singular events, in which the intrepidity of the French, the abject condition of the natives, the weakness and corruption of the court of Delhi, were equally conspicuous, disposed of it in 1750, in favour of Murzafa Jing, grandson of the late subah. Murzafa, who had gallantly dis-
puted

puted the viceroyalty with his uncle, Nazir Jing, was slain soon after in battle, and succeeded in the subahship of the Decan by Sallabat Jing, another uncle; who being conducted by a body of French troops to Aurangabad, the capital of the province, there governed in security, under the protection of France, independent of the great mogul, to whose authority he bid defiance. Both this prince and his predecessors made liberal cessions to their European benefactors.

Before M. Dupleix had thus far succeeded in his plan, he was enabled to procure the nabobship of Arcot, in which Pondicherry is situated, for a man whose attachment and submission might be depended on. The person singled out for that purpose was Chunda Saheb, son-in-law to a former nabob, whom he had hoped to succeed. But the court of Delhi disappointed his ambition, by bestowing the nabobship of Arcot upon Anawardean Khan, an aged prince, whose fortune had undergone a variety of revolutions. Through the intrigues of Dupleix, however, and the assistance of French troops, Chunda Saheb vanquished, his rival, who fell in battle, and obtained a grant of the disputed government from Murzafa Jing.

The new nabob vigorously supported the French in their usurpations. They became masters of an immense territory, extending six hundred miles along the coast of Coromandel. M. Dupleix had even the address to get himself appointed nabob of the Carnatic during the life of Chunda Saheb. And he and his associates in the east, encouraged in their ambitious views by the court of Versailles, (though afterward timidly abandoned by it) proposed to obtain from the great mogul, or from the subah of the Decan, a cession of the capital of the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Malabar, and to seize upon the whole country that lies, in a triangular form, between Mazulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin⁵.

In

5. These ambitious projects are owned by Voltaire, Raynal, and other French writers. And Mr. Orme, one of the most judicious English writers
on

In the meantime, Mahommed Ally, son of the late nabob of Arcot, having taken shelter in Tritchinopoly, a strong fortress still in his possession, implored the assistance of the English, with whom his father had lived in friendship. And, in order to induce them to espouse his cause, he represented that his interests and theirs were intimately connected; that their danger was common; as the French, if suffered to proceed in their conquests, would soon make themselves masters of all the Carnatic. He accordingly received a reinforcement under major Lawrence, a brave and experienced officer; and the enemy being compelled to retire from Tritchinopoly, he went in person to fort St. David, and entered into close alliance with the governor, in the name of the English East-India company, to which he gave up some commercial points, of no small moment, that had been long disputed.

Mahommed Ally, in consideration of this alliance, received another reinforcement under captain Cope, and a third under captain Gingen. A number of actions took place, and with great diversity of fortune. Sometimes victory declared for the French, and sometimes for the English. But no decisive advantage had been gained before the campaign of 1751, when a great military character appeared on that theatre where he was afterward to make so distinguished a figure.

This was the famous Mr. Clive, who had gone out to fort St. David as a *writer*, or accomptant, to the English East-India company, and was at that time commissary to the army. He proposed to divide the French force, by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province of the same name, and the seat of the nabob. Being furnished, for that purpose, with one hundred and thirty European soldiers, he accordingly repaired to Madras; where receiving a small reinforcement, he happily accomplished his enterprize. Arcot was taken.

on the affairs of Indostan, imputes to M. Dupleix yet more extensive plans of dominion.

But

But before the victor had leisure to secure his conquest, or to think of a retreat, he was besieged in the place, by a numerous army of French and Indians, under raja Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb.

The ruin of captain Clive and his brave associates seemed now inevitable; and the more timid began to represent it (as posterity certainly would, if it had taken place) as the natural consequence, and just punishment, of his presumptuous rashness. By his courage and conduct, however, he repelled all the efforts of the assailants; who, having suffered severely in many desperate attacks, were forced to relinquish their enterprize, after a vigorous siege of fifty days⁶. This defence is memorable in the annals of war. It was maintained with wonderful intrepidity and perseverance against greatly superior numbers, provided with skilful engineers, by a handful of men, under a young commander, in a great measure ignorant of the military science; but the resources suggested by whose genius were such as would have been employed by the greatest masters in the art of defending fortified places.

Receiving soon after a reinforcement under captain Kirkpatrick, captain Clive pursued the enemy; and coming up with them in the plains of Arni, gained a complete victory, after an obstinate dispute of five hours. But this victory did not put an end to the war. The French, who were still powerful at Pondicherry, quickly assembled a new army, and took the field in conjunction with their allies Sallabat Jing and Chunda Saheb. The English, who persevered in supporting Mahommed Ally, were joined by the raja of Tanjour, and other princes in their alliance. Major Lawrence assumed the chief command of the company's troops; and captain Clive, who shared his confidence, acted under him, and continued to give fresh proofs of his military genius. The whole peninsula

6. Orme's *Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, book iii.

of India rung with the din of arms, and some of its finest provinces were laid waste. At length, after a variety of efforts, in which the advantage was generally in favour of the English, the French and their allies were effectually humbled; and Chunda Saheb being made prisoner by the raja of Tanjour, that prince cruelly, but politically, commanded his head to be struck off, in order to prevent future disputes.

In consequence of this success, the French were stripped of many of their late acquisitions. Mahommed Ally remained undisputed nabob of Arcot; and the ambitious and enterprising Dupleix being recalled in 1754, a cessation of arms took place between the hostile powers, as a prelude to a treaty of peace. A conditional treaty was accordingly negotiated, by which the French and English companies agreed forever to renounce all oriental government and dignity; never to interfere in any disputes that might arise between the princes of the country; and that all places, except such as were particularly stipulated to remain in the possession of each company, should be delivered up to the government of Indostan⁷. These stipulations it is unnecessary to enumerate, as they were never fulfilled. Before this conditional treaty had received the sanction of the two companies in Europe, a new war between the two nations broke out in another quarter of the globe, and soon embroiled the whole world.

The province of Nova-Scotia in North-America, to which the French gave the name of l'Acadie, was ceded to Great-Britain, as we have seen, at the peace of Utrecht. But the soil being reputed barren, and the climate intensely cold, only a few English families settled in that much contested country, notwithstanding its advantageous situation for carrying on the fishing trade, and its abounding in naval stores; so that the French inhabitants, having taken the oath of allegiance to their new so-

7. Id. Ibid.

vereign, continued to enjoy their possessions, their religion, and every other privilege, under the British government, which exacted from them neither rent nor taxes. As they were exempted from the obligation of carrying arms against the subjects of his most Christian majesty, they assumed to themselves the name of *neutrals*. This peaceful character, which they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude to maintain, they shamefully violated in 1746, when France attempted to regain possession of the country. Their conduct on that occasion, though not altogether hostile, was utterly inconsistent with their political situation, and sufficiently shewed the necessity of peopling Nova-Scotia with British subjects; as well to secure its dependence as a colony, as to render it of any benefit to the mother-country; the neutrals being clandestinely supplied with French commodities from Canada and Cape-Breton⁸.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left a number of men, belonging to the sea and land-service, without employment, was highly favourable to such a project. The British ministry accordingly offered great encouragement to all soldiers, sailors, artificers, and reduced officers, who chose to settle in Nova-Scotia. Beside large lots of land, proportionate to their rank in the army or navy, government engaged to pay the charge of their passage, to build them houses, to furnish them with all the necessary utensils for husbandry and the fishery, and to defray the expense of subsistence for the first year. In consequence of this liberality, about three thousand families, many of whom were German protestants, embarked for Nova-Scotia. The town of Halifax, intended as a naval and military station, in order to repress the encroachments of the French, was built, and the harbour strongly fortified.

Now it was that the disputes, between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova-Scotia (which

8. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix.

had not hitherto been distinctly settled, by reason of its neglected condition) began to be hotly agitated by the commissaries of the two crowns. And new disputes, of still more importance, arose, relative to the boundaries, of the British provinces to the southward, on which the French had attempted systematically to encroach. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, Canada and Louisiana, their two extensive colonies, and to circumscribe the English colonies within that tract of country which lies between the Allegany mountains and the sea. This matter will require some elucidation.

Though the British colonists had made few settlements beyond the Apalachian mountains, and those few chiefly for the conveniency of the Indian trade, the inhabitants of Virginia always considered the extent of their country toward the west to be unlimited, as it had been settled before the French had so much as discovered Louisiana. Nor did the people of the two Carolinas ever doubt but they might extend their plantations to the banks of the Mississippi, without encroaching on the property of any European nation. Their only care was to quiet the jealousy of the Indians, who were apt to take alarm at any settlement in the back-country, as an invasion on that portion of their native soil which the ambition of the Europeans had still left them, and which they seemed determined to preserve, with the last drop of their blood, in a state of savage nature, for the purposes of the chase, their favourite amusement, and, beside war, their sole occupation. Toward the north, the boundaries of the British colonies, those of Nova-Scotia excepted, were better understood, as the province of Canada, on which they bordered, had been longer settled than Louisiana; yet on our northern colonies the French had made encroachments and with impunity.

In consequence of those encroachments, and others necessary to complete her ambitious plan, France would have enjoyed, in time of peace, the whole Indian trade, and the English colonies, in time of war, must have had

had a frontier of fifteen hundred miles to defend against blood-thirsty savages, conducted by French officers, and supported by disciplined troops. It was in effect to attempt the extinction of the British settlements. And yet, without such interior communication between Canada and Louisiana as was projected, the French settlements, on the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, could never, it was said, attain to any high degree of consequence or security; the navigation of the one river being at all seasons difficult, and that of the other blocked up with ice, during the winter months, so as to preclude exterior support or relief.

This scheme of usurpation, which is supposed to have long occupied the deliberation, of the court of Versailles, was ardently embraced by de la Jonquiere, now commander in chief of the French forces in North-America, and by la Gallissoniere, a man of bold and enterprising spirit, who had been appointed governor of New-France in 1747. By their joint efforts, in addition to those of their predecessors, forts were erected along the great lakes, which communicate with the river St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi. The vast chain was almost completed, from Quebec to New-Orleans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova-Scotia.

These conferences had been artfully protracted and perplexed by the commissaries of the court of France. They wanted to confine the province of Nova-Scotia solely to that peninsula, which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the English commissaries made it extend to Pentagoet, to the west, and to the banks of the river St. Lawrence, on the north, and proved by incontrovertible arguments, that these were its real boundaries; boundaries, which the French themselves had marked out, when it was restored to them by treaty, under the name of l'Acadie, and particularly at the peace of Breda^o.

During those unavailing disputes, the French were carrying on their encroachments in America, with great boldness, in different quarters. The rising settlement of Halifax, which they foresaw was intended as a bridle upon them, particularly excited their jealousy; and the active and vigilant governor of Canada, beside erecting several forts within the disputed limits of Nova-Scotia, had instigated, first the Indians, and afterward the French neutrals, to take up arms against the British government. Hostilities were likewise commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French surprised a fortified post of considerable importance, called Log's-town, which the Virginians had established for the convenience of the Indian trade; and after pillaging its ware-houses of skins and European goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of New-France, which comprehended in its jurisdiction both Canada and Louisiana, they murdered all the English inhabitants except two, who fortunately escaped to relate the melancholy tale. About the same time, M. de Dontreœur, with a thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, embarked at Venango, a fort which the French had raised on the banks of the Ohio, and reduced another British post, established by the Virginians, on the forks of the Monaungahela.

Certain intelligence of these hostilities having reached England, orders were sent to the governors of her colonies to drive the French from their usurpations in Nova-Scotia; from their fortified posts upon the Ohio; and every where to oppose force to force. But fatal experience soon made the British ministry sensible of the great superiority of the military strength of their enemies in North-America; a superiority arising from the original constitution of the colonies of the two rival kingdoms, and other concurring circumstances. The government of New-France, being moved by one spring was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful,
but

but separate governments belonging to Great-Britain. The interest of the English colonies were often contradictory: they had frequent disputes with each other, concerning their boundaries; and the inhabitants (little habituated to arms, and divided by religious feuds) were perpetually quarrelling with their governors, and disputing, on the most urgent, as well as the most trivial occasions, the prerogatives of the crown, or the rights of the proprietary, as their governments happened to be constituted; in one colony verging toward monarchy, in another bordering on democracy. This want of concert, which had often rendered our more wealthy and populous colonies inadequate to their own defence against a naturally inferior enemy, had long been lamented by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, and was well understood by the French¹⁰. In order to remedy so palpable a political defect, two measures seemed necessary; namely, a confederacy among all the British governments on the continent of North-America, and an alliance with the most considerable Indian nations in their neighbourhood.

As a preliminary step toward such a confederacy, the governor of New-York, accompanied by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or as they are commonly called, *the Indians of the Six-Nations*, at Albany. But only a few of their chiefs attended; and it was evident that even those were much cooled in their affection to the English government. This change was occasioned by the powerful but secret influence of the French agents, who had lately employed every means to corrupt the savages. In order to counteract their intrigues with the Six-Nations, valuable presents were made, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to such of

10. It was on this principle, and the military spirit of the French colonists, that the old and experienced duke de Noailles encouraged, by memorials, the court of Versailles in its ambitious projects in North-America, though under colour of providing for the security of its own settlements. *Mem. tom. iv.*

the Indian chiefs as had thought proper to attend; and liberal promises to the whole. They refused, however, "to take up the hatchet," their phrase for going to war. They could only be induced to declare, that they were willing to renew their treaties with the king of England, and hoped he would assist them in driving the French from the places they had usurped in the back country.

Encouraged even by so slight an indication of friendship, and the ardour of the people of the different colonies for war, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly at Albany, to support the British claims in every quarter of North-America. In consequence of this resolution, major Washington, a provincial officer, was dispatched from Virginia, with four hundred men, to watch the motions of the enemy; and to recover, if opportunity should offer, the places they had taken upon the Ohio. Washington encamped on the banks of that river, where he threw up some works for his security, and hoped to be able at least to defend himself until he should receive a reinforcement, which was speedily expected from New-York.

In the meantime, de Villier, the French commandant on the Monaungahela, having in vain summoned Washington to abandon his post, marched up to his intrenchments, at the head of eight hundred men, and attempted to carry the works by assault. But Washington defended himself with so much intrepidity, as to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive: and he obtained very honourable terms for himself and his detachment. It was agreed that both parties should retire: the English toward Will's creek, and the French toward the river Monaungahela. But scarce were the articles signed, when a fresh body of French and Indians appeared; and although de Villier pretended to adhere to his engagements, he very patiently suffered the Indians to harass the English in their retreat, and even to plunder their baggage¹¹.

No sooner did the courts of London and Versailles obtain intelligence of those violent proceedings, than both were made sensible that a rupture was now become inevitable. France continued to send reinforcements of men, and supplies of money and stores to Canada, for the prosecution of her ambitious projects; and orders were sent by Great-Britain to the governors of her several colonies to arm the militia, and use their utmost endeavours to repel the hostile attempts of the enemy, until troops could be embarked for their farther protection. But although prepared to cut with the sword the Gordian knot of a long and intricate negotiation, the ministers of the two kingdoms breathed nothing but peace; and exchanged, in the name of their masters, reciprocal professions of good will. At length, however, undoubted information having been received in Eng-
land, that a powerful armament, destined for A. D. 1755.
America, was ready to sail from Brest and Rochfort, an end was put to dissimulation.

Roused at this information, the British government equipped, with all possible expedition, a fleet under the command of Boscawen, in order to watch the motions of the enemy; and on the 27th of April, the English admiral, having taken on board two regiments of soldiers, sailed from Plymouth with eleven ships of the line, and one frigate. He directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland; and, a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest, under the command of M. de la Mothe came to the same latitude, in its passage to Quebec. But the thick fogs, which prevail on those banks, especially in the spring season, prevented the hostile fleets from seeing each other: so that part of the French fleet made its way immediately by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Quebec, whilst the other division passed through the dangerous straits of Belleisle, and also reached the place of its destination. Two French ships, however, the Alcide and the Lys, the one sixty-four, the other fifty-four guns, being separated in the fog from both divisions of the fleet, were taken off cape Race, the most southerly point

point of the island of Newfoundland, by the *Dunkirk* and the *Defiance*, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews.

Although the taking of these two ships, with which the war with France may be said to have commenced, fell greatly short of the expectations formed from the English armament, it served nevertheless to animate the nation. The people now saw, that government was determined to temporise no longer, but to repel with vigour, the future encroachments of the French upon the British settlements in America, and also to chastise them for their past violences. Nor were the Americans wanting to themselves in exerting a proper spirit. The governor and assembly of Massachusetts'-Bay, the chief of the New-England provinces, had passed an act toward the close of the year, prohibiting all intercourse with the French at Louisbourg; and, early in the spring, they raised a body of troops, which they sent to the assistance of Mr. Lawrence, governor of Nova-Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan he had formed for driving the French from the posts they had usurped in that province. The enemy had foreseen this attempt, and made preparations to resist it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant colonel Monckton, quickly
JUNE 15. reduced all the French forts, one after another, and restored perfect tranquillity to Nova-Scotia.

The British arms were less successful in other quarters. While colonel Monckton was employed in reducing the French forts in Nova-Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia, for attacking their posts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who had been sent from England for that purpose, early in the season, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of some months, occasioned by the contractors failing in their engagements, he passed the Allegany mountains at the head of two thousand two hundred

hundred men, and rapidly advanced toward fort du Quesne, the chief object of his enterprise. Being informed, during his march, that the garrison of that fort, which had been lately built on the Ohio, near its conflux with the Monaungahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the main body, for the sake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through this haste, he did not take sufficient care to reconnoitre the savage country, with which he was as little acquainted as with the nature of an American war, where the danger of surprise is perpetual in woods, defiles and morasses. And he was too proud to ask the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a sovereign contempt; although Hyde-Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own military experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief essays in arms.

In consequence of these unpropitious circumstances, partly arising from the haughty and obstinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the scene of war, and of the nature of the hostilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprise terminated in an awful misfortune. As he was advancing with careless confidence, and had arrived within ten miles of fort du Quesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, JULY 9. so artfully planted in a defile, that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and bushes, without being themselves exposed to any danger. About noon a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the English army, which was by that time in the middle of the defile, the van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the British troops being seized with a panic, from the unusual appearance and horrid shrieks of the savages who now shewed themselves, a total route ensued. Braddock, himself, however, seemed insensible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he resolutely maintained his station, instead of attempting a retreat, or bringing

bringing up his cannon to scour the thickets with grape-shot; and gave orders to the few gallant officers and soldiers, who remained about his person, to form and advance against the almost invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution. His obstinacy seemed only to increase with the danger by which he was pressed. At length, after having five horses killed under him, he was mortally wounded in the breast by a musket ball. Sir Peter Halket, and many other brave officers, with about seven hundred private men, also were slain¹².

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were so little affected with the panic that disordered the regulars, that they offered to advance against the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable; the terror of the two front regiments being so great, that they never stopped their flight till they met the rear-division which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, of the principal division, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, together with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and instructions, of which the French court afterward made great use in their printed memorials and manifestos.

Although no enemy pursued, the whole English army retreated to fort Cumberland, near Will's Creek, in the back country of Virginia. And there it was expected to have continued during the latter part of the summer; but the chief command having devolved on general Shirley in consequence of the death of Braddock, he ordered all the troops fit for service to march to Albany, in the province of New-York. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were therefore left, during the remainder of the year, exposed to the barbarous incursions of the French and their scalping Indians.

12 *Mod. Uni. Hist.* ubi sup. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapin*, vol. ix
Those

Those colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their measures. But the usual disputes between their governors and assemblies, defeated every salutary plan proposed for that purpose. The northern colonies were less divided in their councils, and more active in their preparations for war. New-York and New-Jersey, following the example of New-England, had prohibited all intercourse with the French settlements in North-America, at the same time that their assemblies voted very considerable supplies: and two expeditions were resolved upon; one against the French fort at Crown-Point, the other against that at Niagara, both supposed to be built upon the British territories.

The expedition against Crown-Point was committed to the care of a gentleman since known by the name of sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided upon the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New-York; where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the English inhabitants, but also by the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had acquired, and whose affections he had won by his humanity and affability. The expedition against Niagara was to be conducted by Shirely in person.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous of the forces to compose both armaments, and most of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But by reason of the delay in bringing up the artillery, provisions, and other necessaries for the expedition against Crown-Point, general Johnson could not set out before the end of August. Shirley was sooner ready, though not before the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The influence of that intelligence on the spirit of the troops was altogether astonishing. A general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itself from rank to rank, and many soldiers deserted: so that when Shirely arrived at Oswego, he had scarce the appearance of an army, instead of a force sufficient not only to secure the British settlements in those parts, but to reduce the strong fortress of

Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louisiana. The attempt was therefore laid aside, as impracticable; and Shirley having marked out the foundations of two new forts in the neighbourhood of Oswego, which stands on the south-east side of lake Ontario, and augmented the garrison of that place to the number of seven hundred men, returned ingloriously to Albany with the wretched remnant of his army¹³.

In the meantime general Johnson, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieskau, commander in chief of the French forces in Canada, at the head of two thousand men. And although the camp was both naturally and artificially strong, there is reason to believe that the French general might have forced it, if he had immediately stormed the English entrenchments. Fortunately, however, he ordered his troops to halt at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which was able to do little or no execution upon troops defended by a strong breast-work. The English, meanwhile, plied their great guns and musketry so warmly, that the central body of the enemy, composed of the French regulars, began to flag in their fire; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, squatted below bushes or skulked behind trees. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the English and their Indian allies leaped over the breast-work, and completed the discomfiture of the assailants. After killing many, and entirely dispersing the whole, they took several prisoners, among whom was Dieskau himself, an old and experienced officer, who was mortally wounded¹⁴. But this action, though decisive in favour of the English, was followed by no important consequences, as general Johnson did not think it prudent

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Lond. Gazette*, October 30, 1755.

to pursue his victory, and it was found too late in the season to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point.

Such was the termination of the first campaign in North-America; which, all things considered, notwithstanding the defeat of Dieskau, and the expulsion of the French out of Nova-Scotia, was estimated to the disadvantage of Great-Britain. But that disadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of French merchant's ships that had been captured during the summer. No sooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the *Alcide* and *Lys*, which it was thought would be considered by the court of Versailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was issued by the British ministry, to make prize of all French ships on the high seas, wherever they might be found. In consequence of that order, above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France, many of which were very valuable, being laden with West-India produce, and about eight thousand seamen were brought into the ports of England before the end of the year¹⁵.

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no reprisals. As this inaction could not be imputed to moderation, it was justly ascribed to a consciousness of their inferiority at sea, and a desire of interesting in their cause the other European powers. Stunned by the unexpected blow that impaired their naval strength, and distressed the trading part of the kingdom, they were at a loss how to proceed; having always flattered themselves, that the anxiety of George II. for the safety of his German dominions, which they had for some time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measure, notwithstanding their encroachments in America. But discovering at length their mistake, by the capture of their ships, and seeing no hopes of restitution, the court of Madrid having declined the dangerous office of mediator, they now resolved to put their threats in execution;

15. Smollett, vol. xii. *Contin. of Rapaui*, ubi sup.

and an army of two hundred thousand men, with their vicinity to the country to be invaded, seemed to promise the most brilliant success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a more dreadful calamity than even war itself. A violent earthquake, which
 NOV. 1. shook all Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. About ten thousand persons lost their lives; and many of the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and altogether destitute of the means of subsistence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not suffered to perish. The British parliament, though pressed with new demands, generously voted one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in Portugal. And this noble instance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately dispatched for Lisbon; where they arrived so opportunely, as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger or cold⁶.

LETTER XXXII.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE IN 1756, WITH
 AN ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS OF WAR, IN ALL PARTS
 OF THE WORLD, TILL THE CONQUEST OF HANOVER, BY THE
 FRENCH, IN 1757.

NO sooner did France resolve to invade the electorate of Hanover, and the king of Great-Britain to defend it, than both became sensible of the necessity of new alliances. Spain and Portugal
 A. D. 1756. seemed determined to remain neutral, and the states-ge-

neral of the United Provinces politically pursued the same line of conduct. The German powers were less quietly disposed.

The court of Vienna, ever since the treaty of Breslaw, but more especially since that of Aix-la-Chapelle, had viewed the rising greatness of the king of Prussia with envious eyes. The empress-queen had never been reconciled to the loss of Silesia; one of the most fertile countries in Europe, and which yielded a clear annual revenue of four millions of dollars, to a rival whom she personally hated. She accordingly entered secretly into a league with the empress of Russia for the recovery of that fine province, and even for stripping the king of Prussia of his hereditary dominions. But this league, into which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, also was drawn, did not escape the vigilance of the penetrating Frederic. And time and circumstances enabled him to break its force, before the scheme of his enemies was ripe for execution.

As soon as the king of Great-Britain saw his German dominions seriously threatened by the French, who had already formed magazines in Westphalia, with the consent of the elector of Cologne, he applied to the court of Vienna for the troops which it was bound to furnish by treaty. But the empress-queen excused herself from fulfilling her engagements, under pretence that the war, having originated in America, did not come within the terms of her treaty with the court of London. Thus disappointed by the Imperial court, as well as in his application to the states-general, his Britannic majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty with the court of Petersburg; in consequence of which the empress of Russia engaged to hold in readiness, for his support, an army of fifty-five thousand men, on the frontiers of Lithunia, and to put them in motion on the first notice.

This treaty was perfectly agreeable to the court of Vienna, whose secret views it was calculated to promote; as it afforded the Russians a decent pretext for entering Germany, and even encouraged them to such a measure
by

by a liberal subsidy. The two empresses, therefore, flattered themselves, that they should not only be able to accomplish their ambitious project, but to make Great-Britain bear the expense of the execution of it. The ruin of the king of Prussia seemed inevitable to all the powers who expected to share in his dominions. His own sagacity, however, at once saved him from the machinations of his enemies, and gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. Though assured of the friendship of France, and acquainted with her views, he boldly declared, That he would oppose the introduction of foreign troops into the empire; under whatsoever pretence, and consider as enemies those who should attempt to introduce them.

The king of Great-Britain, alarmed at this strong declaration, yet pleased with its professed object, the exclusion of foreign troops, concluded at West-
 JAN. 16. minster, on that principle, a treaty with the king of Prussia; not doubting but he should still be able to preserve a good understanding with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg. But the house of Austria, forgetting its jealousy of the family of Bourbon, in its animosity against the Prussian monarch, not only entered into a league with France, along with Russia and Sweden, but partly gave up its barrier in the Netherlands, which had been acquired by torrents of British blood, and millions of British treasure, in order to cement more closely the unnatural confederacy. These new and singular alliances, signed at Versailles, necessarily drew tighter the
 MAY 1. bands of union between George II. and his nephew, the king of Prussia.

Meanwhile the people of Great-Britain, having no confidence in their ministry, were seized with a shameful panic, notwithstanding their naval superiority, at the rumour of a French invasion. That panic was in some measure dissipated, by the arrival of a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, for the protection of the kingdom. But new jealousies and fears arose, as soon as the alarm of the invasion subsided; the foreign troops being represented

presented, by the dissatisfied part of the nation, as the most dangerous enemies of the state. The attention of the public was, however, called off from that object, for a time, by the news of the invasion of the island of Minorca by a French armament, under the duke de Richelieu. This measure was immediately followed, on the part of Great-Britain, by a declaration ^{MAY 18.} of war against France, which was answered by a counter-declaration from the court of Versailles.

The English populace, who, in all great political contests may be said to direct the resolutions of the throne, were pleased with that indication of spirit in the government, as well as with the treaty with the king of Prussia; which was also approved by parliament, and industriously represented by the court as essential to the support of the protestant interest in Germany. But certain unfortunate events revived the clamour against the ministry, and increased the national despondency, for which there was but too much cause; the martial spirit of the people being almost extinct, and the councils of the sovereign divided. These matters will require some explication.

Various causes had contributed to the extinction of the martial spirit in Great-Britain. The long peace that succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the establishment of a standing army, and the consequent neglect of the militia, all had a tendency to estrange the people of England from the use of arms. The citizen having delivered his sword into the hands of the hireling soldier, cheerfully contributed to the expenses of government, and looked up for safety to a band of mercenaries, whom he considered as dangerous to public liberty.

That disinclination to arms, increased by a lucrative commerce, was encouraged by the court; which, during the whole reign of the first, and great part of that of the second George, was under perpetual alarm on account of the intrigues of the adherents of the house of Stuart. The war between Great-Britain and Spain, which began in the year 1739, and afterwards involved all Europe,

Europe, revived, in some degree, a martial spirit in the British army and navy. But the body of the people of England, as appeared on the irruption of the Highlanders, in 1745, had relinquished all confidence in themselves. Being accustomed to pay for protection, though jealous of their very protectors, they trembled before a small body of desperate mountaineers.

Many motions were made in parliament that the militia might be put on a respectable footing, for the general security of the kingdom. But the jealousy of government long prevented any effectual step being taken for that purpose; while the peace that followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by relaxing still farther the manners of the nation, had made the people yet less warlike. And as the small standing army, widely dispersed over the extensive dominions of the empire, was evidently insufficient for its protection, the unarmed and undisciplined inhabitants of Great-Britain were justly filled with terror and apprehension at the prospect of a French invasion.

In this extremity a militia-bill, on the same principles with the law now in force, was framed by the honourable Charles Townshend, and passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the house of peers. Thus deprived of the only constitutional means of defence, by a government that owes its existence to the suffrage of the people, and a family which reigns but by their voice, England submitted to the indignity of calling in foreign mercenaries, for her defence against an enemy who had often trembled at the shaking of her spear, and who was now more her inferior than in any former period, in every naval and military resource.

That indignity was keenly felt by all orders of men in the state, and the national despondency, and the orderly behaviour of the foreign troops, only could have prevented a popular insurrection. The principal servants of the crown, on whom the public indignation chiefly

chiefly fell, were severely blamed for exposing the kingdom to such an indelible disgrace. The ministry, indeed, had never been properly settled since the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754. That minister, though sufficiently disposed to gratify his sovereign in his passion for German alliances and continental politics, was believed to be at bottom a sincere friend to his country, and to the liberties of the people. His brother, the duke of Newcastle, who succeeded him as first commissioner of the treasury, and who was no less compliant to the court, possessed neither his virtues nor his talents; and Mr. Fox, who had lately been appointed secretary of state, was considered as the ostensible minister, though a man of abilities, was supposed to be void of principle. He was besides, very unpopular, as he had made the motion in the House of Commons for bringing over the Hanoverians and Hessians, instead of adopting any vigorous measure for internal defence.

The British ministry, however, were blamed for events which it was not altogether in their power to govern, distracted as they were by the national panic. And in order to increase that panic, as well as to conceal their design upon Minorca, the French had marched down large bodies of troops to their maritime provinces, contiguous to the coast of England. Nor were their naval preparations less formidable. Beside a great number of frigates and flat-bottomed boats, which might be employed as transports, they had near forty ships of the line at Brest and other ports on the ocean. It was therefore judged prudent to keep a superior English fleet in the channel; and, as it was conjectured the French could not have above six or eight sail of the line at Toulon, an English squadron of only ten sail of the line, two ships of forty-eight guns, and three frigates, was sent into the Mediterranean.

The command of this squadron was given to admiral Byng, son of the celebrated naval officer of that name, who destroyed the Spanish fleet off Messina, in 1718. When

Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where his squadron was augmented by an additional ship of the line, he learned that the French had already landed fifteen thousand men in the island of Minorca, and were besieging the castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and port of Mahon. Having on board a reinforcement for the garrison of that fortress, he immediately sailed for the place of his destination, after receiving a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar. He was joined on his way by the *Phoenix* frigate, commanded by captain Harvey; who confirmed his former intelligence, and informed him particularly of the strength of the enemy's fleet. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and five frigates, under the marquis de la Galissoniere.

On the approach of the English admiral to the harbour of Mahon, he had the satisfaction to see the British colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. But, notwithstanding that animating circumstance, his attempts for its relief were feeble and ineffectual. In a word, Mr. Byng seems to have been utterly discouraged, from the moment he learned the strength of the French fleet, though little superior to his own, and to have given up Minorca for lost as soon as he heard it was invaded. This fully appears, both from his subsequent conduct, and from his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, before he arrived at Mahon. In that letter, (which forms a kind of prelude to the account of his miscarriage) after lamenting that he did not reach Minorca before the landing of the French, he expressed himself thus;—"I am firmly of opinion, that
" throwing men into the castle will only enable it to hold
" out a little longer, and add to the numbers that must
" fall into the enemy's hands; for the garrison, in time,
" will be obliged to surrender, unless a sufficient number
" of men could be landed to raise the siege. I am de-
" termined, however, to sail up to Minorca with the
" squadron, where I shall be a better judge of the situa-
" tion of affairs, and will give general Blakeney all the
" assistance he shall require. But I am afraid all com-
" munication

“munication will be cut off between us; for if the enemy
“have erected batteries on the two shores near the en-
“trance of the harbour, (an advantage scarce to be
“supposed they have neglected) it will render it impossi-
“ble for our boats to have a passage to the sally-port of
“the garrison’.”

Admiral Byng’s behaviour was conformable to those desponding ideas. When the French admiral advanced to prevent him from throwing troops ^{MAY 20.} into the citadel of Mahon, he disposed his fleet in order of battle; but kept at such a distance, under pretence of preserving the line unbroken, that *his* division did very little damage to the enemy, and his own noble ship of ninety guns was never properly in the engagement. The division under rear-admiral West, however, the second in command, drove three of the French ships out of the line; and, if supported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng is said to have told his captain, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who incurred the censure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in rashly violating the laws of naval discipline!

The consequences of this indecisive action were such as had been foreseen by those acquainted with the sentiments of the English admiral. Byng, though in some measure victorious, as the French admiral bore away to support that part of his line which had been broken by Mr. West, and although the English fleet had lost only about forty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had sustained a defeat. The reasons assigned for that retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns; his apprehensions for the safety of Gibraltar, and the im-

1. Letter from on board the *Ramillies*. Gibraltar Bay, to Mr Cleveland, secretary of the admiralty, May 4, 1756. “If I should fail in the relief
“of port Mahon,” adds he, “I shall look upon the security and protec-
“tion of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down *hore* with
“the squadron. J. B.”

possibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared, on the fullest evidence, that no attempt to afford such relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the sally-port of the castle, was very practicable².

The French fleet, on the retreat of Admiral Byng, returned to its station off the harbour of Mahon. And the garrison of fort St. Philip, being thus deprived of all hope of relief, general Blakeney, the governor, surrendered the place, and with it the island of Minorca, after a siege of nine weeks. The defence was not so vigorous as might have been expected, considering the strength of the works, the advantageous situation of the castle or citadel, and the rocky soil, which renders it almost impracticable to open trenches. But the garrison was too small by one third, not exceeding three thousand men: the besiegers were numerous, amounting to near twenty thousand, and repeatedly reinforced with fresh regiments, after the retreat of the English fleet. Their train of artillery was awfully formidable, consisting of near one hundred pieces of battering cannon, beside mortars and howitzers. The duke de Richelieu pushed his approaches with ardour, and even led on his troops in person to several desperate assaults. Therefore, although only two of the out-works were taken when the capitulation was signed, and but one hundred of the garrison slain, while the French had lost about five thousand of their best troops, the conduct of Blakeney, when contrasted with that of Byng, appeared to such advantage, that he became extremely popular on his arrival in England, notwithstanding his want of success, and was raised by his sovereign to the peerage.

The fortune of admiral Byng was very different. The public cry was loud against him; and he was odious to the ministry, on whom he had endeavoured to throw the blame of his miscarriage. He was superseded by Sir Edward Hawke in the command of the fleet in the

2. See the *Examination of Lord Blakeney*, and Mr. Boyd, in the printed *Trial of Admiral John Byng*.

Mediterranean, and brought 'home under arrest to be tried for his life.

The news of the taking of Minorca transported the French populace, and even the court, with the most extravagant joy and exultation. Nothing was to be seen, in France, but triumphs and processions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victor. The people of England were depressed in an equal degree, when informed of the loss of that important place. But instead of ascribing it to the number and valour of the French soldiers and sailors, or to the skill of their commanders, the great body of the English nation imputed it wholly to the cowardice of admiral Byng, and the improvidence of the British ministry. Petitions accordingly poured in from all quarters, demanding justice, and an inquiry into the conduct of administration relative to Minorca.

Meanwhile a general hope prevailed, that misfortune would not extend to every scene of action. And very sanguine expectations were entertained of success in North-America; where the war had originated, and where our most essential interests were supposed to be at stake. Orders had been issued for raising, in the English colonies, four battalions of regulars, which were soon completed, and disciplined by experienced officers. Two additional regiments were sent from the mother-country. And government resolved to take upon itself the whole weight and conduct of the war in America, on account of the divisions in the provincial assemblies. The earl of Loudon was appointed commander in chief of all the British forces there, and general Abercrombie succeeded Shirley, as second in command.

The plan of operations for the campaign was great, yet promising and flattering. It was proposed to reduce the fortress of Niagara, situated, as already observed, at the junction of the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new posts upon
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the Ohio; to besiege fort du Quesne, the principal of those posts; to take Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, that the frontiers of New-York might be delivered from the danger of invasion, and Great-Britain acquire the command of lake Champlain, over which forces might be transported in case of any attempt upon Quebeck. Albany was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous.

At that station general Abercrombie arrived on the fifth day of June, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled. They consisted of about four thousand regulars, including the American battalions; four independent companies belonging to the colony of New-York; a regiment of militia from New-Jersey; a formidable body of men raised by the New-England provinces, and four companies levied in North-Carolina.

The English colonies toward the south, but especially Virginia and Maryland, had suffered so severely from the ravages of the French and Indians, to which they were still exposed, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of whom quakers form the most considerable body, though exposed to similar barbarities, could hardly be prevailed upon to make any provision for their own security; but, instead of sending troops to the general rendezvous, when smote on one side of the head, they presented the other to the savage assailant. And the number of negro slaves, in South-Carolina, above the due proportion of white inhabitants, was so great, that the assembly judged it inconsistent with the safety of the province to spare any part of their domestic force for distant enterprises.

The army assembled at Albany, however, though perhaps too small to have completed the whole extensive plan of operations, was of sufficient strength to have performed very essential service, if it had entered immediately upon action. But as general Abercrombie delayed the execution of every part of that plan until the arrival of Lord Loudon (which proved too late in
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the season for any thing of consequence to be afterward effected, or at least undertaken with a reasonable probability of success); another campaign was lost to Great-Britain, through neglect and procrastination; while time was afforded the French, not only to take precautions at their leisure against any future attempt on their back settlements, but to proceed unmolested in their ambitious scheme of encroaching on the British colonies, and reducing all our fortifications in the neighbourhood of the lakes. The marquis de Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the forces in Canada, and who possessed a bold military genius, accordingly invested Oswego, and reduced it in a few days. The garrison, to the number of sixteen hundred men, were made prisoners of war; and, beside seven armed vessels and two hundred batteaux, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, also fell into the hands of the enemy³.

So unfortunate for Great-Britain was the issue of the second campaign in North-America! Nor did our affairs wear a more favourable aspect in the East-Indies. Admiral Watson, who commanded the British fleet in those latitudes, had indeed, in the beginning of the year, reduced Gheria; the principal fortress of Tulagee Angria, a piratical prince, whose ancestors had established themselves near Bombay, on the coast of Malabar, and who had there become rich and powerful by pillaging European vessels. And the English factories at Madras and fort St. David, where hostilities could never be said to have ceased, were able to maintain their ground against the French and their Indian allies. But destruction came from an unexpected quarter, and fell upon a place that was thought to be in the most perfect security.

The vast commerce of England to the East-Indies, since the middle of the present century, and her immense

3. *Paris Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1756.

territorial acquisitions in Bengal, where this blow was struck, provoke me to attempt a description of that rich country, whose memorable revolutions I shall have occasion to relate.

Bengal, the most easterly province of Indostan, lies between the twentieth and twenty-seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends from east to west almost seven hundred miles. As Egypt owes its fertility to the Nile, Bengal is indebted for its opulence to the Ganges. This magnificent body of water, after having received, in a course of six hundred miles, from its irruption through the mountains on the frontier of India, to the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, seven large rivers, and many inferior tributary streams, enters the province of Bengal near the mountain of Tacriagully, whose foot it washes, and whence it runs in a south-east direction to the sea.

An hundred miles below Tacriagully, the Ganges stretches towards the south an arm, which is called the river Cossimbuzar; and fifty miles lower, another arm, called the Jelingeer; which, after flowing about forty miles to the south-west, unites with the Cossimbuzar at a town named Nuddeah. The river formed by the junction of the Cossimbuzar and Jelingeer is sometimes called the *Little Ganges*, but more commonly the river Hughley; which, after flowing one hundred and twenty miles in a southern direction, enters the sea at the island of Sagor.

The principal stream of the Ganges, which, for the sake of distinction, is called the *Great Ganges*, continues to receive, from the going out of the Cossimbuzar, to the middle of the twenty-second degree of latitude, a multitude of small rivers. There its flood is joined by that of the Baramputrah, a yet greater river, which rises on the eastern side of those vast mountains, that send forth the Ganges to the west. The conflux of those two mighty rivers is tumultuous, and has formed several large islands between their junction and the open sea, which their waters reach about thirty-five miles lower.

Tacriagully,

Tacriagully is the termination of a stupendous range of mountains, which accompanies the course of the Ganges from the west. And about fifty miles beyond Tacriagully, where these mountains begin to form the northern boundary of Bengal on the western side of the Ganges, another range of mountains strikes from the south, but in a curve swelling westward, which terminates within sight of the sea, about thirty miles from Ballasore. To the north, those mountains divide Bengal from the southern division of Behar or Bahar; and to the south, they seem the natural separation of Bengal from Orixá. Eastward, the province of Bengal extends as far as Rangamatty; a town belonging to the King of Assem, on the river Baramputrah.

The sea-coast of Bengal, between the mouth of the river Hughley and that of the Great Ganges, extends, from east to west, one hundred and eighty miles; and the whole is a dreary inhospitable shore, which sands and whirlpools render inaccessible to ships of burden. For several miles within land, the country is intersected by numerous channels, through which both rivers disembogue themselves, by many mouths, into the ocean; and the islands formed by these channels are covered with thickets, and occupied chiefly by beasts of prey. But the country higher up is very differently inhabited; and so desirable, that it has been called the *Paradise of India*.

The triangle formed by the Cossimbuzar and Hughley rivers to the west, by the Great Ganges to the east, and by the sea-coast to the south, as well as a large tract, on each hand, to the north of this delta, is as level as the Lower-Egypt, and no where exhibits a single stone. The soil is a stratum of the richest mould, lying on a deep sand; which being interspersed with shells, indicates the land to have been overflowed. Such parts of that immense plain as are not watered by the Ganges or its branches, are fertilized by many other streams from the mountains; and

for the space of three months, from May to August, when the sun is mostly vertical, heavy rains fall every day⁴.

In consequence of these advantages of soil and climate, the inhabitants of Bengal are enabled to subsist by less labour than the people of any other country on the face of the earth. Rice, which forms the basis of their food, is produced in such plenty, that two pounds are often sold for a farthing. Many other grains, and a vast variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices that enter into their diet, are raised with equal ease, and in the greatest abundance. Salt is found in the islands near the sea, and the sugar-cane thrives every where. Fish swarm in all the streams and ponds; and the cattle, though small, are incredibly numerous. Hence, in spite of despotism, the province is extremely populous: and the labours of agriculture being few and light, many hands are left for the fine fabrics of the loom, the principal branch of oriental industry. More pieces of cotton and silk are accordingly manufactured in Bengal, notwithstanding the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants, who are utterly destitute of all vigour of mind⁵, than in any other country of Indostan of three times the same extent; and as these manufactures are chiefly intended for exportation, and sold cheaper than any where else, the trade of Bengal has ever excited the avidity of the Europeans, since navigation opened them a passage thither by the Cape of Good-Hope.

As early as the year 1640, the agents of the English East India company obtained leave to build a factory at Hughley; a town situated on the river of the same name, about one hundred miles from the sea, and then the principal port in the province of Bengal. But the officers of the mogul government superintended the progress of the buildings,

4. Orme, book vi.

5. This languor may be ascribed partly to the climate, and partly to the vegetable diet of the inhabitants, whose religion precludes them the use of animal food.

and objected to every thing which resembled, or might be converted into a station of defence; the court of Delhi, at the same time, disdaining to allow, in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any sovereignty but its own, or the erection of a single bastion by any European power⁶. Nor does this contradict what has been formerly said of the first European settlements on the sea-coast of Indostan; the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts themselves, having either been purchased, or wrested from princes who had not submitted to the great mogul.

The same jealous policy, that prohibited the English from erecting fortifications, also forbid the introduction of military force. An ensign and thirty men, to do honour to the principal agents, were all the troops the East India company was permitted to keep at Hughley. In this naked condition, and in consequence of it, exposed to frequent fines and exactions, the factory continued, until the year 1686; when, as a remedy against such arbitrary impositions, an attempt was made by the company to establish a defensible post by force of arms. The enterprize ultimately failed; yet were the English agents permitted to settle a factory at Soota-nutty, about ten miles lower, on the same river, than Hughley, in 1689; and the year following, they received a *phirmaund*, or patent, from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade, free of customs, on condition of paying annually a stipulated sum.

These indulgences were granted to the English from an apprehension of their utterly abandoning the trade of Bengal, as they had removed to Madras, after the miscarriage of their armament. And other causes contributed to root them more firmly in that province. In 1696, the rajahs, on the western side of the river Hughley, took up arms; and the principal part of the nabob's forces being then with the court at Dacca, the rebels, headed by the rajah of Burdawan, made great progress, before a body

6. Orme, *ubi sup.*

of troops sufficient to oppose them could be assembled. They took Hughley, plundered Muxadavad, and thence proceeded to Rajahmahal.

On the rise of this rebellion, all the European factories in the province of Bengal augmented their soldiery, and declared for the nabob; earnestly requesting, at the same time, his permission to put their several settlements in a posture of defence against the common enemy. The nabob, in general terms, desired them to provide for their safety. An apology for so doing was what they had all along sought. Happy, therefore, in being furnished with an order so conformable to their views, the Dutch raised walls, with bastions, round their factory, about a mile to the south of Hughley. The French fortified with no less diligence, and more skill, their settlement at Chandernagore, two miles lower on the river; and the English, as their bulwark, erected fort William at Calcutta, a small town, where they had built their principal magazines, contiguous to Soota-nutty⁷. Such was the origin of the three European fortifications in the province of Bengal.

From the time that the English established themselves at Calcutta, which they were soon after permitted to purchase, together with its territory, from the zemendar or Indian proprietor, the trade of the company continued to flourish, in spite of many discouragements from home: and the town increased wonderfully in population, notwithstanding the jealousy of the nabob. The company's agents had even the address to obtain from the great mogul, in 1717, the privilege of passports or *dustucks*; which, being recognized throughout the province of Bengal, their goods were thenceforth exempted from customs, and no longer liable to be stopped by the officers of the revenues.

This was a singular indulgence, and contributed greatly to facilitate and augment the trade of the English East India company; more especially as none of the other

7. Orme's *Hist. Indost.* book vi.

European companies were entitled to the same indulgence, nor any of the natives except two or three principal merchants, who purchased it from the nabob at an exorbitant price⁸. But the envy and jealousy, occasioned by those advantages, excited against the English the hatred both of the European and country powers; and that jealous hate, in the latter, brought on the fatal catastrophe, which makes this digression necessary.

On the death of the nabob, or more properly Subah Allaveady, who had governed with great ability, for many years, the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixia, the supreme authority devolved, according to his destination, upon his grandson *A. D. 1756.* Surajah Dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, suspicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his security to the inability of any power within his jurisdiction to hurt him. The English had particularly awakened his apprehensions by the taking of Gheria, a fortress deemed impregnable in Indostan, by their increasing strength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their settlement in Calcutta.

Other circumstances conspired to point the resentment of Surajah Dowlah immediately against the English factory in Bengal. He was informed, and not altogether without foundation, that the agents of the East India company had abused their privilege of *dustucks*; by making them subservient not only to the importation of European, and the exportation of India goods, but to the importation of commodities from other parts of Indostan, and even of the same province, to the great diminution of the public revenue, and in direct contradiction to the purpose for which they had been granted, the encouragement of foreign commerce. He therefore determined to get those passports recalled by the court of Delhi, or to deny the validity, and also to punish the

abuse. And the governor and council of Calcutta, by refusing to deliver up to him a noble refugee, who had taken shelter with all his treasures within their presidency, farther confirmed him in his hostile resolution.

Enraged at this refusal, though seemingly occasioned by misapprehension, the nabob, who had assembled an army of fifty thousand men, with an intention of striking a blow in a distant quarter, ordered it to march directly toward Calcutta; where the English, he was told, were building new fortifications. He himself headed his troops; and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. Sufficient force, however, remained for the accomplishment of his enterprize. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in fort William; a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Conscious of his inability to hold out, Mr. Drake, the governor, called, at two in the morning, a council of war,

JUNE 19. to which all except the common soldiers were

admitted; and after debating long, whether they should immediately escape to the company's ships in the river, or defer their retreat until the following night, the council broke up, without coming to any positive determination. But as the first proposal was not carried into execution, the second was generally understood to have been embraced.

Meanwhile the besiegers vigorously pushed their attacks, and hoped every moment to carry the fort by storm. Filled with terror, and utterly unacquainted with military service, many of the company's servants, and even some members of the council, went off to the ships. A party of militia, it was observed, that had conducted the women on board the preceding night, did not return to the garrison. They who remained in it looked at one another with wild affright. The governor, who had hitherto discovered no want of courage, now panic-struck at
the

the thought of falling into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, who had threatened to put him to death, hurried into a boat that lay at the wharf, without apprising the garrison of his intention. The military commanding officer, and several other persons of distinction, pusillanimously followed his example, and accompanied him to one of the ships.

The astonishment of the garrison at this desertion could only be equalled by their indignation. Nothing was heard for a time but execrations against the fugitives. At length, however, the tumultuous concourse proceeded to deliberation: and Mr. Pearkes, the eldest member of the council left in the fort, having resigned his right of seniority to Mr. Holwell, that gentleman was unanimously invested with the chief command. The number of militia and soldiery now remaining, amounted only to one hundred and ninety men. The new commander, therefore, having seen some boats return to the wharf, locked the gate leading to the river, in order to prevent future desertions.

The same promptitude and spirit distinguished Mr. Holwell's whole conduct. But all his gallant efforts were found insufficient to preserve the fort. Soon convinced of their weakness, and conscious of their danger, the garrison threw out signals for the ships or boats to repair to the wharf. That rational hope of escape, however, failed them. One ship having struck on a sand-bank, not a single vessel of any kind offered afterward to yield them a retreat. As a last resource, Mr. Holwell threw a letter from the ramparts, intimating a desire to capitulate; many of the garrison having been killed JUNE 20. since the departure of the governor, and more of the survivors thrown into a state of despondency. Encouraged by this indication of weakness, the besiegers made a desperate but ineffectual assault; after which one of the nabob's officers appeared with a flag of truce. It was answered by another from the fort. A parley ensued, but before any articles of capitulation could be settled, the
troops

troops of Surajah Dowlah forced open one of the gates, and made themselves masters of the place, though without putting any of the garrison to the sword⁹.

About an hour after the taking of fort William, the nabob entered it, accompanied by his general Meer Jaffier, and most of the great officers of his army. Having given directions for securing the company's treasure, he seated himself, with all the state of an Asiatic conqueror, in the principal apartment of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. On the first appearance of that gentleman, Surajah Dowlah expressed violent resentment at the presumption of the English, in daring to resist his power, and chagrin at the smallness of the sum found in the treasury. Softened, however, in the course of three conferences, he dismissed the English chief, as he thought proper to call him, with repeated assurances, on the word of a soldier, that he should suffer no harm.

Notwithstanding those assurances, Mr. Holwell and his unfortunate companions, (whom he found, on his return, surrounded by a strong guard) were forced into the common dungeon of the fort, usually called *the black-hole*, about eight o'clock in the evening; and in that dungeon, only eighteen feet square, were they condemned to pass the night, in one of the hottest climates of the earth, and in the hottest season of that climate. They could receive no air but through two small grated windows, almost totally blocked up by a neighbouring building, which deprived them of the common benefit even of the sultry atmosphere. Their distress was inexpressible, in consequence of the heat, and the pressure of their bodies, as soon as the door was shut. They attempted to force it open, but without effect. Rage succeeded disappointment. The keenest invectives were uttered, in order to provoke the guard to put an end to their wretched lives, by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some, in the agonies and torment of despair, were blaspheming their

9. Orme, ubi sup.

Creator with frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from heaven, in wild and incoherent prayers.

Mr. Holwell, who had taken his station at one of the windows, exhorted his fellow-sufferers to composure, as the only means of surviving till morning. In the mean time he addressed himself to an old jemautdar, an officer of the guard, who seemed to have some marks of humanity in his countenance, promising him a thousand rupees if he would separate them into different apartments. He retired to procure an order for that purpose, but returned in a few minutes, with a sorrowful face, and said it was *impossible!* Misapprehending his meaning, Mr. Holwell proffered him a larger sum. He retired a second time, and again returned with the same woe-forboding look; while the prisoners rent the air with their cries to the guard, to open the dungeon, and drank their own sweat to relieve their thirst.

“Unhappy men!” said the jemautdar “submit to necessity. The subah is asleep! and what slave dares disturb his repose¹⁰?” A stronger picture of despotism was never drawn, nor a deeper scene of human misery exhibited.

All sentiments of friendship, compassion, or respect, were henceforth extinguished in the breasts of the devoted prisoners. No one would give way for the relief of another; but every one employed his utmost strength to obtain a place near the windows, or to maintain that station. The feeble sunk, never more to rise, and were trampled upon by their stronger companions. The havock of death, and the struggle for air continued until morning appeared; when, the door being opened, of one hundred and forty-six persons, thrust into the black-hole, twenty-three only were brought out alive. And Mr. Holwell, and other two of the survivors, were condemned to farther sufferings. They were sent prisoners to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, in hopes of extorting from them, by cruel usage, a confession of the factory's hidden treasures. Calcutta was pillaged, and fort William

10. Holwell's *Narrative*. Orme, book vii.

secured by a garrison of three thousand men¹¹. The affairs of the English East-India Company seemed finally ruined in Bengal.

The accumulated misfortunes of Great-Britain did not, however, discourage the king of Prussia, her brave ally, from taking vigorous measures in order to defeat the designs of his numerous enemies; or to acquire that ascendant in Germany which he had long been ambitious of attaining, and which was now become in some degree necessary for his own preservation, as well as to enable him to fulfil his political engagements with his Britannic majesty. Nor did George II. fail to act with proper dignity. He ordered his electoral minister to deliver a memorial to the diet at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty which he had lately concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and terror; that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of Germany; and the empress-queen, notwithstanding her obligations to Great-Britain, had denied him the succours stipulated by treaties, he had negotiated that alliance merely for the safety of his own dominions, and the preservation of the tranquillity of the empire, neglected by its head¹².

The behaviour of his Prussian majesty was still more stately. Having ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the hostile preparations he saw making on the frontiers of Silesia, and, receiving only evasive answers, he resolved to anticipate the designs of his enemies by carrying the war into their dominions, instead of coolly waiting its approach in his own. And he called heaven and earth to witness, that the empress-queen alone would be chargeable with all the innocent blood that might be spilt, and the dismal consequences that must attend the prosecution of hostilities, by refusing the declaration

11. *Id. Ibid*

12. *Printed Memorial.*

which

which he had required; namely, “that she had no intention to attack him either this year or the next.” He had constituted her, he said, arbitress of peace or war; and her military preparations and mysterious replies left him no room to doubt which alternative she had chosen, though she declined a liberal and open decision of the momentous question.

In order to invade Bohemia with success, it is not only convenient, but almost necessary, to take possession of Saxony. The king of Prussia, who had projected the invasion of that kingdom, and who hoped to be able to reduce it to obedience before the empress-queen could assemble her troops, or any of the other confederates be in a condition to attack him, therefore resolved to occupy his electorate; a measure in which he thought himself justified, as he knew that the elector had concurred in all the schemes formed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg for the ruin of the house of Brandenburg, and waited only for an opportunity to co-operate also in the execution of them. He accordingly entered Saxony with a great army, consisting of seventy battalions and eighty squadrons, divided into three bodies, which pursued different routes, and assembled, by concert, in the neighbourhood of Dresden. AUG. 29.
SEPT. 6.

Unable to resist so powerful a force, Augustus abandoned his capital, which was immediately occupied by the Prussians, and joined his little army of fourteen thousand men encamped at Pirna. That camp which was deemed impregnable, he had not chosen merely on account of its strength, but also because he thought its position secured him a communication with Bohemia, whence only he could expect succour, and whither he might retire in case of necessity. Relying on these advantages, on the attachment of his subjects, and his intimate connections with the court of Vienna, he scornfully rejected the reasonable requisition of the king of Prussia, that, as a proof of the sincerity of his suspicious professions of neutrality, he should withdraw SEPT. 18.

withdraw his army from the strong post which it occupied, and order the troops to return to their former quarters, in different parts of the electorate.

This refusal induced the king of Prussia to change his plan of operations. As he had no magazines in Bohemia, he did not think it safe to penetrate into that kingdom, and leave the Saxons masters of the Elbe behind him. He therefore resolved to surround their camp; and, as he could not hope to force it, to oblige them to surrender, by cutting off their supplies, before he proceeded farther. With this view, he encamped at Gross Zedlitz, in the neighbourhood of Pirna, and soon reduced the Saxon army to the greatest distress. Meanwhile he sent two large detachments, one under marschal Keith, the other under marschal Schwerin, to the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to keep the Austrians in awe, and deprive them of the power of making any vigorous effort for the relief of the Saxons, by obliging them to divide their forces. Keith took post at Johnsdorff, and Schwerin at Aujest, opposite Konigsgratz.

That was a cautious rather than a great line of conduct. Had the king of Prussia marched into Bohemia with the main body of his army, the moment he found the king of Poland reject his propositions of neutrallity leaving twenty thousand men to block up the Saxon, camp at Pirna, he might have made himself master of the whole kingdom, before the Austrians could have been in a condition to oppose him. Olmutz, and even Prague, must soon have fallen into his hands, both being yet unprovided against a siege¹³; whereas, by the plan

13. *Hist. of the late War in Germany*, by major-general Lloyd, who served several campaigns in the Austrian army, and afterwards in that of prince Ferdinand. "The conquest of these two places," adds this intelligent author, "would have enabled his Prussian majesty to begin the next campaign in Moravia, at least, and perhaps on the Danube, with the siege or blockade of Vienna; whence he might, without any risk, have sent a considerable corps to the frontiers of Hungary, and the army destined to guard Saxony into the empire, between the sources of
" the

plan that he pursued, the empress-queen had leisure to assemble two considerable armies in Bohemia, and to put its principal towns in a state of defence. The smallest of these armies, commanded by prince Piccolomini, took post at Königsgratz, in order to oppose Schwerin; the largest under mareschal Brown, encamped at Kolin, and was destined to march to the relief of the Saxon army, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made for that purpose.

These preparations being completed, mareschal Brown quitted his camp at Kolin, and advanced to Budyn on the Egra, in order to concert measures with the Saxons for accomplishing their SEPT. 23. enlargement. Now seemingly sensible of his mistake, in not having entered Bohemia, the politic and enterprising Frederic, having left a body of troops to continue the blockade of Pirna, joined the division of his army under Keith, and resolved to give battle to the Austrian army under Brown. Such an opportunity he soon found.

The Austrians having passed the Egra, and encamped at Lowositz, his Prussian majesty thought it necessary to pass the mountains of Bascopol and Kletchen; to put the defiles behind him, and occupy the avenues leading to the plain before mareschal Brown's camp, that he might without difficulty attack him, if he should judge it convenient. He accordingly SEPT. 30. left Tirmitz, to which he had advanced from Johnsdorff, and arrived at Welmina about eight o'clock in the evening. Fearing the enemy might decamp in the night, and occupy the mountains of Radostitz and Lobosch; and, by that movement, not only render it impossible for him to attack them, but even ob- OCT. 1. lige him to fall back to Ausig, he resumed his march, and occupied the mountains, of which he was apprehensive the Austrians would take possession.

"the Maine and the Upper-Danube. The first would have hindered the empress-queen from receiving any succours from these countries, and the last would have effectually prevented those princes, who were the king of Prussia's enemies, from uniting against him." Ibid.

By

By break of day the Prussian army, consisting of sixty-five squadrons, and twenty-six battalions, with one hundred and two pieces of cannon, was formed in order of battle; the infantry in two lines, and the cavalry in three, behind. The right wing of the infantry was posted in the village of Radostitz, at the foot of the hill of the same name. Before that hill rises another, called the Homolkaberg; which although much lower than the former, is yet so high as to command all the plain below, as far as the village of Sulowitz. To this hill the king of Prussia afterward extended his right wing, and placed a battery of heavy cannon upon it. His centre occupied the valley formed by the Homolkaberg and the Loboschberg; and on the latter his left wing was posted.

The Loboschberg is a remarkably high and steep mountain, and extends into the plain almost to Lowositz. That side of it is covered with vineyards, which are separated by stone walls. In these mareschal Brown had posted a large body of Croats, who were sustained by several battalions of Hungarian infantry. Parallel to those mountains, and at some hundred yards distance from the foot of them, runs a marshy rivulet; which in many places spreads itself in the plain, and forms a kind of lake. Between this rivulet and the hills, on which the Prussian army was formed, strikes a very deep ravin, or sewer, hollowed by land floods, from Sulowitz to Lowositz. The only passes over that ravin and rivulet are at these two villages, and by a narrow stone bridge between them. The ground behind the rivulet rises a little, especially toward Sulowitz; and on this rising ground the Austrian army, consisting of seventy-two squadrons and fifty-two battalions, with ninety-eight pieces of cannon, was posted. It was formed in two lines; the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry, as usual, on the wings. A little before the commencement of the action, however, the cavalry on the right wing marched forward, and occupied the plain to the left of the village

village of Lowositz. That village mareschal Brown had ordered to be fortified, and had placed some of his best infantry in it, with a great quantity of artillery. He had likewise raised a strong battery, and some redoubts on the plain before it. By these means he thought he had rendered his right inaccessible, as his centre and left, covered by the marshy rivulet and the ravin already mentioned, certainly were. He therefore resolved to wait battle in that position.

The action began about seven in the morning, between the left wing of the Prussians and the troops which mareschal Brown had posted in the Loboschberg. But, in consequence of a thick fog, through which nothing could be seen at the distance of an hundred yards, no considerable advantage was gained, on either side, till near noon, when the fog began to clear up. It was soon entirely dissipated; and the hostile armies stood full in view of each other, agitated with anxious hopes and fears. The king of Prussia, having examined the Austrian army for some time, judged its right to be the weakest, for many reasons, but chiefly because it was commanded from the Loboschberg. He therefore ordered his second line to enter into the first, with the cavalry in the centre, that he might occupy the Homolkaberg and Loboschberg in force. This being readily executed, the whole army was put in motion, inclining always to the left, whence the projected attack was to be made; and the left wing being reinforced and protected by the fire of a numerous and well served artillery, marched down the Loboschberg toward Lowositz, and drove the Croats out of the vineyards into the plain.

Mareschal Brown believing that the fortune of the day depended on his being able to keep possession of Lowositz, threw almost all his right wing into it. The action, therefore, was here long and obstinate. At length, however, it was determined in favour of the Prussians. Seeing his right wing forced to give way, the Austrian general ordered his left to advance through the village of Sulowitz,

Sulowitz, and attack the enemy's right. This it endeavoured to execute, but in vain. A small number only of the infantry could pass the village; and these galled by the heavy fire of a powerful artillery, being unable to form on the other side, fell back in confusion. Brown was now under the necessity of attempting a retreat; which he conducted in a manner so masterly, that no effort was made to annoy him.

The Austrians, however, though thus compelled to quit the field, were not totally defeated. Mareschal Brown took a new position, a little farther back; the strength of which obliged the victorious Frederic to remain satisfied with the advantage he had gained, and to keep his line behind Lowositz. But while the enemy continued in that position, his Prussian majesty had by no means effected his design. As the victory was incomplete, it was still possible for the Austrian general to attempt the relief of the Saxons. He was now, indeed, as much in a condition to undertake it as before the action, his loss being incomparably inferior to that of the Prussians.

From this very embarrassing situation the superior talents of the king of Prussia happily extricated him. He sent the prince of Bevern with a large body of horse and
OCT. 10. foot to Tischiskovitz, as if he had proposed to turn the enemy's left flank, and to hem them in between the Elbe and the Egra. That manœuvre had the desired effect. Afraid of the consequence naturally to be expected from such a motion, mareschal Brown, hastened to repass the Egra, and occupied his old camp at Budyn¹⁴.

Thus ended the battle of Lowositz, which began as already observed, at seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon. The loss on each side was nearly equal, amounting in all to about six thousand killed and wounded. Both parties claimed the victory; but if we judge by effects, the only means of

14. Lloyd, ubi supra.

settling such doubtful questions, the Prussians have an undoubted right to the honour of the day. The Austrians certainly intended to disengage the Saxons, and with that view advanced to Lowositz. The king of Prussia could have no other object immediately in view, but to prevent their executing this design. He accomplished his aim by the battle of Lowositz, and the subsequent movement, which made the Austrians retire behind the Egra. Had the Prussians gained a more complete victory, or the king pursued a bolder line of conduct, they would have been enabled to take up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.

Having failed in this attempt to relieve the Saxons on the left of the Elbe, mareschal Brown resolved to try his fortune on the right. He accordingly passed that river, and advanced to Lichtenhayen. The Saxons also passed the Elbe, near the village of Ebenhart, at the foot of the mountain of Lilienstein, where they found themselves encompassed by inextricable difficulties. The Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles before them; the bridge over the Elbe was broken down behind them; and the Austrian general gave them notice that he could not march to their assistance. They had no choice left, but to perish, or surrender prisoners of war. They embraced the latter alternative; and their electoral prince, Augustus III. king of Poland, who had taken refuge in the castle of Koningstein, was forced to abandon his hereditary dominions, and retire into that kingdom.

The king of Prussia having thus completed one part of his military plan, commanded his army to quit Bohemia, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony. Now it was that the victorious monarch, in order to justify his rigour toward the unhappy Saxons, on whom he levied heavy contributions, at the same time that he seized the public revenues, made himself master of the archives of Dresden; and even ordered the secret cabinet, in which the papers relative to foreign transactions were kept, to be violently broken open, although the queen of Poland placed herself against the door.

This violence has been generally reprobated, but very unjustly. Though perfectly acquainted with the laws of politeness, and sufficiently disposed to observe them, his Prussian majesty did not allow them to interfere with the rigid maxims, and more important laws of policy. He rightly considered, that the passionate obstinacy of the queen of Poland, in personally opposing the command of the conqueror, deprived her of all the respect that was due to her sacred person; as a princess of her years and experience could not fail to know, that his desire of possessing the papers in question, must increase in proportion to her zeal to protect them. She drew the A. D. 1757. insult upon herself; and admitting her death, which happened soon after, to have been the consequence of such insult, the king of Prussia was not chargeable with it. Her part was submission.

In the papers seized, the learned and enlightened Frederick, whose sensibility of heart, perhaps, has not always equalled his liberality of mind, found abundant proofs of the conspiracy formed against him by the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and of the share which the court of Dresden had taken in that conspiracy. From these papers, which the king of Prussia published in his own vindication, it appeared, that, although the king of Poland did not chuse to insert *at first*, in his accession to the confederacy, the words *reciprocal engagement of assisting one another with all their forces*, that he was willing, nevertheless, to *come to an understanding*, for the partition of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, by *private and confidential declarations*, and *just conditions and advantages*¹⁵; that it was resolved, in the grand council of Moscow, to *attack the king of Prussia, without any ulterior discussion*, not only in case of his attacking any of the allies of Russia, but also if he should be attacked by any of the allies of the Czarina^m; that it had been concerted

15. Letter from the count de Bruhl, the Saxon minister, to count Fleming, the Imperial minister, dated Dresden, March 3, 1753.

16. Letter from the Sieur Funck, the Russian minister, to the count de Bruhl, dated Petersburg, October 20 1755.

between the two Imperial courts of Petersburg and Vienna, that the latter, *the better to mask the true reasons of arming*, should do it *under the pretext of keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engagements with England*, in case of need; and when *all the preparations were finished*, then to *fall suddenly upon the King of Prussia*¹⁷.

Though the king of Prussia was not so successful as might have been expected, considering his superior military talents, the number and discipline of his troops, and the unprepared state of his enemies, who did not propose to begin their operations till the next campaign¹⁸, the progress of his arms gave great joy to the British court, while it filled the nation with shame and confusion by turning their eyes on their own disasters; on the supposed misconduct of the ministry, the losses in America, and the miscarriage of the unhappy Byng, whom the voice of the people had already devoted to destruction for his pusillanimity. Willing to remove as far as possible, all grounds of dissatisfaction, his Britannic majesty changed his ministers; and, in a noble speech from the throne, expressed his confidence, That, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of England.

At the head of the new administration was placed William Pitt, the most popular man in the kingdom, who accepted the office of secretary of state for the southern department, in the room of Mr. Fox. Mr. Legge, another popular commoner, was made chancellor of the exchequer; and the duke of Devonshire succeeded the duke of Newcastle, at the head of the treasury.

17. *Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl*, dated Vienna, June 9, 1756.

18. *Letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl*, dated Vienna, July 28, 1756.

The first measures of the patriotic minister do equal honour to his head and heart. He procured an order for sending home the foreign troops: he encouraged the framing of a bill, which immediately passed into a law, for establishing a national militia, upon the footing on which it now stands, as our only constitutional defence, and he complied with the wishes of the people, in bringing on the trial of admiral Byng, and promoting an inquiry into the conduct of the former ministry.

Byng was accordingly tried, by a court-martial, on board the *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour, and sentenced to be shot; he having, in the opinion of his
 JAN. 28. judges, fallen under that part of the twelfth article of war, which prescribes death to any commander, “who shall not, during the time of action, do his *utmost*, “from whatever motive or cause, negligence, cowardice, “or disaffection, to *distress* the *enemy*,” And they were farther unanimously of opinion, that beside failing in his duty, by keeping back, during the engagement between the English and French fleets, and consequently not using his utmost endeavour “to take, seize, and destroy “the ships of the French king, that he did not *exert* his “*utmost power* for the *relief* of *St. Philip’s castle*.” But they recommended him to mercy, as the article of war, on which they decided made no allowance for an error in judgment. His majesty laid the sentence before the twelve judges, who confirmed it.

Meanwhile a violent clamour, on account of this judgment, was raised by admiral Byng’s friends, who severely arraigned the proceedings against him, and ascribed his miscarriage solely to the ignorance and improvidence of the late corrupt administration. The people, though enraged at Byng, for his dastardly behaviour, joined in the cry against the discarded ministers. And addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, requesting that a strict inquiry might be made into their conduct, from the time they received the first intelligence
 of

of the purpose of the French to invade Minorca, to that of the action in the Mediterranean, between the admirals Byng and Galissoniere. Such an inquiry was accordingly instituted in the House of Commons, and openly conducted by a committee of the whole house, FEB. 17. who were furnished from the public offices with all the papers that could throw light upon the subject; and after the closest investigation, they came to several resolutions highly favourable to the execrated administration, instead of making any discovery to their disadvantage.

The first and last of these resolutions deserve particular notice. By the former, the committee declared it appeared to them, "That his majesty, from the 27th day of August, in the year 1755, to the 20th day of April, in the following year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade Great-Britain or Ireland." And in the latter, they gave it as their opinion, "That no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng: nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered, from Gibraltar, to the relief of fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects."

Though thus foiled in their attempt to criminate the ministry, the friends of admiral Byng did not yet abandon him to his fate. Another effort was made to save him. A member of the court-martial that had condemned him, and who was also a member of Parliament, made application to the house of commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon courts-martial, that they might make known the grounds on which sentence of death had been passed upon
upon

upon admiral Byng, and disclose such circumstances as might perhaps shew the sentence to be improper.

Little attention was paid by the commons to this application, till the king sent a message to the house, by secretary Pitt, informing them, That although
 FEB. 26. he was determined to let the law take its course, with relation to admiral Byng, unless it should appear, from new evidence, that he had been unjustly condemned, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of the sentence of the court-martial, that the scruples of some members might be fully explained and weighed. In consequence of this message, a bill was immediately brought in, and passed the house of commons, for releasing the members of the court-martial from their obligation of secrecy. But it was rejected almost unanimously by the lords, after they had examined such members of that court as were members of the house of commons; sufficient reason not appearing to them for obstructing the course of justice, by giving way to such unmeaning or pretended scruples, in support of which no forcible arguments were produced, nor any latent circumstance, in favour of the person whom they regarded, brought to light.

Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, admiral Byng collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which had been better exerted in the day
 MARCH 14. of battle. He was shot, according to his sentence, on board of ship, and behaved to the last with composure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the mareschal of the admiralty, in which he lays claim to a *faithful discharge of his duty*, according to *the best of his judgment*. And perhaps he was sincere; but men, under such circumstances, are very apt to be partial to themselves. “Persuaded “I am,” adds he, (after congratulating himself that a few moments would deliver him from the virulent persecution of his enemies) “that justice will be done “to my reputation hereafter. The manner and cause of
 “raising

“ raising and keeping up the popular clamour and pre-judice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered as a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects.”

No! my dear Philip: let us rather consider his blood as a libation due to the offended genius of England, and indispensably necessary to wash out the stain which had been thrown upon her naval glory. An admiral who had acted as Byng did, on such an occasion, and with such a force, setting aside all temporary circumstances, could only atone for his misconduct with the sacrifice of his life, as an awful warning to future commanders¹⁹.

While the English ministry, in compliance with the wish of the people, were thus bringing to punishment a commander in chief, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest disgrace, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire, (for which they have been unjustly ridiculed, and represented as barbarians, by their more giddy and volatile neighbours) the French

19. Even Dr. Smollett, his warm advocate, after saying, “ he was rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations,” has the candour to admit, that “ the character of admiral Byng, in point of *personal courage*, will, *with many people*, remain problematical: they will still be of opinion, that if the *spirit* of a *British admiral* had been properly exerted the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca saved. A man’s opinion of danger,” continues he, “ varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits: he is often actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. And after an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial the mind, eager for its own JUSTIFICATION, assembles with surprising industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality; until it becomes not only satisfied but enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring.” (*Contin. Hist. England*, vol. i.) These ingenious reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the discernment of Smollett, and distinguish his character as a historian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but self-deluding personal attachments, and his violent resentments, are forgot.

were

were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king. On this fanatical wretch, named Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliaments relative to religion, (which I shall afterward have occasion to explain) was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt on the life of his sovereign²⁰. He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most exquisite torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves on civility and refinement, might fill the hearts of savages with horror. He was conducted to the common place of execution amidst a vast concourse of the populace; stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms, were torn with red-hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and to complete the awful catastrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses²¹.

The attempt against the king's life had no influence upon the French councils, as it was soon discovered that his wound was not mortal. The court of Versailles, therefore, in conformity with its engagements and its views, assembled a great army; the main body of which, consisting of eighty thousand men, commanded by marschal d'Etrees, and other officers of high reputation, passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by the way

20. He stabbed the king with a penknife, between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach.

21. Smollett. *Voltaire. Trial and Execution of F. R. Damien.*

of Westphalia, in order to invade the territories of the king of Prussia, as was pretended, but in reality to reduce the electorate of Hanover; and by that bold measure to oblige the king of Great-Britain to submit to the encroachments of the French in America, or to the loss of what he valued as the apple of his eye, or the cords of his heart, his German dominions. The smaller division, composed of twenty-five thousand men, under the prince de Soubise, was destined to march toward the Maine, to strengthen the Imperial army of execution.—Some explication will here be necessary, in order to make the nature of this army perfectly understood.

No sooner did the king of Prussia enter Saxony, the preceding campaign, than a process was commenced against him in the Aulic council, and also before the diet of the empire. By the influence of the court of Vienna, and the terror of the powerful confederacy it had formed, he was condemned for contumacy; and the fiscal had orders to notify to him, that he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held in it. The circles of the empire were accordingly commanded to furnish their contingents of men and money, in order to put this sentence in execution. But the contingents were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and probably the army of the Empire would never have been able to act, had it not been seconded by the French forces under the prince de Soubise. This general, before he passed the Rhine, made himself master of Cleves, Meurs and Gueldres, whilst a detachment from the army of marschal d'Etrees, seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to his Prussian majesty in East-Friesland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George II. seemed disposed to enter deeply into the continental quarrel, and even to send over a body of British troops for the protection of Hanover. In these views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge, his new ministers; who, adhering to the patriotic principles

in which they had been bred, and in the diffusing of which they had grown up to popularity, and raised themselves to power, considered Hanover as a useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great-Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation.

The popular ministers were deprived of their employments, for daring to oppose the will of their sovereign in council. And although it was too late to adopt
APRIL 5. new measures for the campaign with any probability of success, the duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of *observation*, as it was called, intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of forty thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Prussians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of mareschal d'Étrees. The duke of Cumberland, after some unsuccessful skirmishes was obliged to retire behind the Weser; and the French passed that river without opposition.

If the duke of Cumberland's situation now seemed desperate, that of the king of Prussia, after making every allowance for his own superior talents, and the valour and discipline of his troops, did not wear a more favourable aspect at the opening of the campaign. An army of one hundred and thirty thousand Russians was on the borders of Lithuania, and in full march to invade the kingdom of Prussia. The Swedes were ready to enter Pomerania, in hopes of recovering their former possessions in that country. The empress-queen, having made vast preparations during the winter, had augmented her army to one hundred and eighty thousand men²²; yet did she resolve to act only on the defensive, until her allies could take the field. Then, she flattered herself, the king of Prussia would be obliged to divide his forces into so many bodies, that he would be unable, any where, to make a vigorous resistance.

22. Lloyd's *Campaigns*, vol. i.

Conformable to this defensive system, the Austrian army was broken into four divisions; the first of which, commanded by the duke d'Aremberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under mareschal Brown, at Budyn; the third, under count Konigseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under mareschal Daun, in Moravia. By these dispositions, mareschal Brown, who commanded in chief, thought he could effectually cover Bohemia, which was understood to be the first object of the enemy, and stop their progress, should they attempt to advance.

The king of Prussia, however, having resolved to penetrate into that kingdom, was not diverted from his purpose by this formidable force, or the strong positions it had taken. He therefore ordered his army, in like manner with the Austrians, to assemble in four divisions: one under prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau, at Chemnitz; another, under himself and mareschal Keith, at Lockwitz; the third, under the prince of Bevern, at Zittaw; and the fourth, under mareschal Schwerin, in Silesia. As each of these divisions was strong, he thought he might safely order them to enter Bohemia separately; but with instructions to unite as soon after as possible, for mutual support, and to form an entire junction in the neighbourhood of Prague.

The Prussian plan of operations being thus concerted, prince Maurice quitted his station at Chemnitz in the beginning of April, and marched by Zwickaw and Plawen, toward Egra; as if he intended to attack the place, or at least to penetrate that way into Bohemia. And in order to confirm d'Aremberg in this opinion, he commanded his light troops to make a feint upon the duke's quarters at Wildstein. The Austrian general, taking the alarm, threw himself into Egra; while prince Maurice returned to Averbach, and marched with great celerity, by Brix and Billin, to Liney, where he joined the king of Prussia.

Not thinking it practicable to force the camp at Budyn, which was very strong, his Prussian majesty
passed

passed the river Egra higher up, near Koschtitz. Here his light troops and van-guard met those of the duke d'Arenberg, who was on his march to join mareschal Brown. On seeing the Prussians, however, they fell back upon Welwarn; and mareschal Brown, finding the enemy had passed the Egra, and were encamped on his left flank, judged it necessary to quit his position at Budyn, and retire to Prague³. Thither he was followed by the king of Prussia; who encamped on the Weissenberg, to the left of the Moldaw, which the main body of the Austrians, now commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, had quitted, and removed to the other side of that river.

While these things were passing on the side of Saxony, where his Prussian majesty had spent the winter, and whence he still drew supplies, the prince of Bevern having put his division in motion, marched from Zittaw to Reichenberg. He there found count Konigseg, with
 APRIL 21. a body of twenty thousand men, encamped in
 a valley formed by two very high mountains.

Through the middle of that valley runs the river Neiss, into which fall many torrents from the neighbouring mountains. The sides of those mountains are covered with thick woods, which are almost impassible. The Austrian general, therefore, occupied only the valley between, extending his wings no farther than the foot of the mountains.

The prince of Bevern, who, by pursuing this route, had but himself under the necessity of fighting, in order to join mareschal Schwerin, had now no choice left but the mode of giving battle. Taking advantage of the disposition of the enemy, (after an unsuccessful attack upon their cavalry in the centre, which were strongly supported by their infantry and artillery on the two wings) he sent several battalions as high as possible in the mountain on his right, in order to come on the flank and rear.

of the Austrians posted in the wood at the foot of that mountain. His commands were punctually executed, and attended with full effect. The Austrians abandoned the wood; the prince renewed his attack upon their cavalry; which, unable to sustain the fire of the Prussian infantry, were forced to give way. On this advantage, he ordered his whole right wing to occupy the ground the Austrian cavalry had quitted, and obliged count Königseg to retire toward Libenaw, with the loss of a thousand men.

The prince of Bevern marched to that place, but found the Austrians so advantageously posted, APRIL 23. that he did not think it prudent to attack them; more especially as he knew the advance of the army under mareschal Schwerin would suddenly force them to retire. It so happened. Having received intelligence of Schwerin's approach, Königseg quitted his camp next day, and marched with precipitation to Prague.

Meanwhile Schwerin, informed of the action at Reichenberg, and the retreat of the Austrians, wisely changed his route. He marched on the Iser, hoping still to be able to cut off Königseg before he could reach Prague. And, although he failed in that attempt, he was so fortunate as to seize an immense magazine, which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlau²⁴. Being afterward joined by the prince of Bevern's division, he proceeded to Brandeiss, where he continued till the fourth of May. He then passed the Elbe, and encamped on the other side, in order to concert measures with the king before he advanced farther.

His Prussian majesty, who had thrown a bridge over the Moldaw, near Podbaba, passed that river with part of his army in the night, leaving the remainder MAY 6. under mareschal Keith, on the Weissenberg. Next morning, at break of day, he formed a junction with Schwerin; and, having reconnoitred the enemy

24. Lloyd, ubi sup.

from one of the highest hills on the other side of Brosiz, he resolved to give them battle.

The Austrians, amounting to about eighty thousand men, were encamped with their left wing toward Prague, on the Ziskaberg, and their right extending beyond the village of Conraditz, on a hill near Sterbohli. The mountains before the Austrian camp were so steep and craggy that no cavalry or artillery could possibly ascend them, and the deep valley at their foot was wholly occupied by hussars and Hungarian infantry. Yet was the king of Prussia, regardless of these difficulties, inclined to attack the enemy in front. But, through the persuasion of mareschal Schwerin, he changed his opinion, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right, where the ground falls gradually, and where the infantry could pass over certain meadows, and the cavalry and heavy artillery over dams²⁵.

The action began about eleven o'clock; when, the Prussian cavalry having passed the dams, the Austrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank, and ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. It came with great celerity, and formed itself with that on the right in one hundred and four squadrons, in three lines, with intervals equal to the front of a squadron. This movement was made with so much promptitude, that the prince of Schonaich, the Prussian lieutenant-general of horse, who had only sixty-five squadrons, afraid of being out flanked, judged it necessary to attack the enemy instantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The attack was accordingly made with vigour; but the Prussian cavalry being outflanked by eight squadrons, was twice repulsed, in spite of its most strenuous efforts. In the third attack, however, the Austrian cavalry was entirely broken, by the bravery of

25. Letter from count Schwerin, general-adjutant, to the mareschal of that name, who was present at the consultations.

twenty squadrons of hussars, led by general Ziethen, and pushed with such violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confusion.

During this shock of the cavalry, the Prussian grenadiers of the left wing, having passed the meadows, were obliged to advance through a very narrow road, in order to join the rest of the line, which was already formed. As soon as the grenadiers appeared on the other side of the defile, they were saluted by a battery of twelve pounders, charged with cartridges, and forced to retire in the greatest disorder. They were followed by two whole regiments; and the second battalion of Schwerin's began to give way, when the mareschal himself, who had been continually on the other side of the defile, took the colours of his regiment in his own hand; and having collected the broken troops, advanced with a strong pace toward the enemy, exhorting the soldiers to follow him. He received a bullet in his breast, and instantly fell from his horse, without the least signs of life²⁶. But his death did not pass unrevenged.

The king of Prussia, observing that the Austrian right wing, in the ardour of pursuit, had advanced so far as to leave an opening between it and the left, laid hold of this favourable opportunity to occupy that vacant space. And while he thus separated the enemy's two wings from each other, he at the same time, by an additional stroke of generalship, ordered a body of troops to possess the ground where his own left had stood: so that when the Austrian right wing was forced back by the bravery of mareschal Schwerin, and the gallant officers who succeeded him in the command, that victorious body found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion toward Maleschitz; while the left wing, furiously attacked by the Prussian infantry, under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The centre also was broken, after an obstinate dispute, and chased into the same city²⁷.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Lloyd, vol. i.

Such was the famous battle of Prague, in which the valour and military skill of the Austrians and Prussians were fully tried, and which proved fatal to two of the greatest generals in Europe. For mareschal Brown received a wound, which his chagrin rendered mortal; though his pride is supposed to have been more hurt by being obliged to command under the prince of Lorrain, than from the event of the day. The loss on both sides was very considerable. The Prussians, by their own account, had three thousand men killed, and more than double that number wounded, beside three hundred and ninety-seven officers, many of whom were of high rank. The loss of the Austrians, in killed, wounded and taken, cannot be computed at less than twelve thousand, although they acknowledge little more than half that number.

But these were all the immediate consequences of the king of Prussia's victory. The main body of the Austrian army, to the number of fifty thousand men, found shelter in Prague, under prince Charles of Lorrain; and about sixteen thousand, chiefly cavalry, assembled at Beneschau the day after the battle, and immediately joined mareschal Daun, who had arrived the evening before, from Moravia, and encamped at Bohmisch Brodt, on hearing of the disaster of the Austrians. The intrepid Frederic, however, elated with his good fortune, and thinking that every thing must submit to his victorious arms, invested Prague, with an army little superior to that confined within the walls!

It was certainly very extraordinary, that so great a general as the king of Prussia should think it possible to reduce an army of fifty thousand men, in so extensive a town as Prague, with one of equal force. Hence the memorable saying of the celebrated mareschal de Belleisle, who had defended the same place, as we have seen, in 1742, with fifteen thousand men against the whole power of the house of Austria, and retired with honour and glory, when he found his provisions fail: "I know
" Prague,

“Prague, and if I were there with one half of the troops
 “under the prince of Lorrain, I would destroy the
 “Prussian army²⁸.”

But the supineness of the Austrians in some measure justified the king of Prussia's temerity. They suffered themselves to be shut up in Prague for six weeks, without making one vigorous effort for their enlargement; although the Prussian army, beside forming a chain of posts extending many miles, was separated by the river Moldaw into two parts, any one of which might have been cut off. Fifty thousand men, provided with arms and artillery, submitted to this inglorious restraint, and continued inactive till they began to feel the pressure of famine; and the prince of Lorrain seemed, at one time, disposed to capitulate. When mareschal Brown, then sick in bed, was consulted on that subject, he made the following spirited reply: “Tell prince Charles, my advice is, “that he instantly march out, and attack mareschal “Keith²⁹.”

The prince of Lorrain, however, did not chuse to carry matters to that extremity, so long as any hope of relief remained: and the king of Prussia, by a new and more extraordinary instance of self-confidence than any he had yet exhibited, saved the Austrian army from the necessity of such a desperate effort, or the indelible disgrace of a surrender. While occupied in the siege of Prague, contemning the strength of the garrison, he had sent out several detachments, in order to raise contributions, and to seize or destroy the magazines which the Austrians had formed in different parts of Bohemia. Elated with the success of these detachments, and fearing that mareschal Daun, whose army now amounted to forty thousand men, might not only disturb his operations, but give prince Charles, by some manœuvre, an opportunity to get out of the place, he dispatched the prince of Bevern with twenty-five thousand men, in order to drive him farther back.

28. *Id. ibid.*29. *Lloyd, ubi sup.*

As the Prussians advanced, mareschal Daun prudently retired, successively to Kolin, Kuttенberg, and Haber. But no sooner had he received all the reinforcements he expected, than he attempted to bring the prince of Bevern to action; and even, by rapid marches, to cut off his communication with the army before Prague. Informed of the enemy's motions the king of Prussia quitted his camp, with ten battalions and twenty squadrons, and
 JUNE 23. marched toward Kolin. There having formed a junction with the army under the prince of Bevern, he resolved to attack mareschal Daun, without farther delay.

On his approach, with this intention, the Prussian monarch found the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men drawn up in two lines; the infantry, contrary to the common disposition, on the wings, and the cavalry in the centre. The right wing was posted on a hill, extending toward Kuttенberg and Kolin; the left on another and higher hill, lying toward Zasmuck. At the bottom of these two hills, and in the space between, which was covered by a chain of fishponds and morasses, mareschal Daun had extended two lines of horse, and kept a third in reserve; for as he knew that the Prussians were stronger in cavalry than infantry, the king having with him ninety squadrons, and only twenty-eight battalions, he supposed they would make their greatest effort against the centre of the Austrian army, in order to cut it in two. But no sooner did he perceive the king's intention of attacking him on the right flank, than he ordered his body of reserve to march to the right wing, in order to cover the flank. And he afterward directed his second line to march also thither, close up to the reserve.

His Prussian majesty ordered his army to halt, between nine and ten in the morning, in a plain near Slatislunz and Novimiesto, while he reconnoitred the
 JUNE 18. enemy's position; and having resolved to attack them, notwithstanding the strength of that position, and their superiority in numbers, his army was again
 put

put in motion, and the battle soon after began⁵⁰. At half an hour past one, the head of the Prussian columns, both of infantry and cavalry, appeared opposite the Austrian army, which was prepared to receive them. And about two o'clock the grand attack, conducted by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and supported by a powerful artillery, was pushed with resistless fury upon the Austrian right wing; which was at first thrown into disorder, but instantly recovered itself, and afterward behaved with equal firmness and gallantry. This conflict lasted about an hour and a half. Then the fire of the Prussian infantry began to slacken, and they were obliged to retire, in order to draw breath. They soon, however, renewed the combat; but were again compelled to yield to superior strength. Seven times did they return to the charge, from two till half past six o'clock. About that time, the last and most violent effort was made by the king in person, at the head of his cavalry. It was continued till after seven; when the Prussians, sinking under numbers, and the disadvantage of ground, in which their cavalry could not properly act, were forced finally to relinquish the contest. But they remained on the field till nine, and retired without being pursued. The slaughter on both sides was great, and nearly equal. About twenty thousand men were left dead on the spot, or dying of mortal wounds.

In consequence of the loss of this memorable battle, one of the most obstinate and bloody of which there is any example in modern times, the king of Prussia was obliged

50. For the particulars of the battle of Kolin, and most of the other great actions between the Austrians and Prussians, the author is indebted to the late major-general Lloyd, whose excellent, but unfinished *Campaigns*, must make his death sincerely lamented by all military men. Where this prime authority fails, recourse has been had to the accounts of the different actions published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, as well as to those transmitted to the court of Versailles by French officers in the Austrian service, which seem in general more accurate and impartial, and form a kind of standard for judging of the two former.

immediately

immediately to raise the siege of Prague, and afterward to evacuate Bohemia.

General Lloyd's reflections on the siege of Prague, and the battle of Kolin, are too interesting to be here omitted. The siege of Prague, with about fifty thousand men in it, he observes, was an imprudent and dangerous measure, more especially as the king of Prussia was then in circumstances that required some decisive stroke, and that as soon as possible; that Prague covers no essential pass into the country, and contained no considerable magazine, neither was it necessary for the king to form one there, because the country itself furnished abundantly all kind of subsistence; that if, instead of besieging this town, his Prussian majesty had sent twenty thousand men, the morning after his victory, in pursuit of the Austrian right wing, which had fled to Beneschau, and marched with the main body of his army to Bohmisch-Brod, against mareschal Daun, it is more than probable he might have destroyed both; that they certainly could not have retired without losing their artillery and baggage, and must have fallen back with the utmost expedition on the Danube; that prince Charles of Lorraine must likewise have marched to the Danube, in order to join the remainder of the Austrian army, as he could not, in his then situation, have undertaken any thing of himself; that this would have given the king of Prussia all the time necessary to reduce Olmutz, and even Prague itself, which must have been left to a common garrison; but that, allured, by the uncertain and vain, though flattering hope of making fifty thousand men prisoners, he lost sight of Daun and the Austrian right wing, and with it an opportunity of giving some decisive blow; that when informed of the enemy's approach, he had still time to repair the fault he had committed,—“he might, and ought to have raised the siege of Prague, and have marched with his whole forces against mareschal Daun;” and if he had succeeded, it is highly probable

probable that he might also have routed prince Charles, before he could have reached the Danube³¹.

In regard to the battle of Kolin itself, this ingenious author very judiciously remarks, that as his Prussian majesty was in proportion much stronger in cavalry than infantry, he ought to have chosen the most convenient ground on the enemy's front for that species of troops; and that as he had given them an opportunity, by making his dispositions in open day, to reinforce their right and its flank, whither they had brought two-thirds of their army, he ought to have refused both his wings, and have made an effort with his cavalry, sustained by his infantry and artillery, on the enemy's centre, where they had only cavalry, and therefore most probably would have been forced to give way: whereas, by persisting to attack their right, he could bring only his infantry into action, the ground being very improper for cavalry, as well on account of the ravines and woods, as of the villages before the enemy's front: that having resolved to attack the Austrian right wing, the king of Prussia should have brought thither all his infantry, leaving only a line of horse on his right, which would have been sufficient, as the enemy's left could never quit its advantageous position, and descend into the plain; that this would have enabled him to sustain properly his vanguard, which was left exposed; to have taken the enemy in flank, and to have gained the battle³². In a word, it appears from these reflections, that the king of Prussia erred in forming an attack where he could not conveniently combine the different species of arms, whereas the enemy had both infantry and cavalry, with a great artillery, to sustain the points attacked; in letting his vanguard advance so far, that it could not be supported by the line; and in attacking with too little infantry, considering the nature of the ground. Hence the loss of the battle.

Nor were the arms of his Prussian majesty, or those of his allies, more fortunate in other quarters. No sooner

31. Lloyd, vol. i.

32. Id. Ibid.

did the Russians, who had hovered long on the frontiers, enter the kingdom of Prussia, than general Lewhald was ordered to oppose their progress. He accordingly assembled an army of thirty thousand men, in the month of June, and took post at Insterburgh, in order to observe the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile general Fermor, with one division of the Russian army, assisted by a fleet from JULY 5. Revel, carrying nine thousand land forces, invested Memel; and, after a short siege, made himself master of that important place, which was of infinite consequence to the Russians, as they could make it a military station, and a magazine of provisions and stores, that might be constantly supplied by means of their navy.

This enterprise being successfully executed, the whole Russian army, consisting of sixty-two thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, with near twenty thousand Tartars, Calmucks, and Cossacks, united under mareschal Apraxin, on the river Russ, and advanced toward the Pregel. General Lewhald, on the approach of the enemy, quitted his camp at Insterburgh, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued until he received positive orders to hazard a battle. Having reconnoitred the AUG. 3. position of the Russians, who had passed the Pregel, and were encamped at Gross-Jagersdorff, near Norkitten, he accordingly attacked them unexpectedly, at five o'clock in the morning, with great fury. Though thus in a manner surprised, they received the shock with a firmness that astonished him; and after a warm and general action of three hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every possible exertion had been made, he was forced to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men³³.

Unacquainted with the valour and discipline of the Russian infantry, since found to be the best in Europe, Lewhald deprived himself of the power of making a vigorous or successful effort in any one point, by extending

33. Prussian account of the battle. The Russian account is imperfect and contradictory.

his little army in a line opposed to that of the enemy; which he in vain endeavoured to break, as they had every where, through this mistaken disposition, a much greater number of men in action than he could possibly present³⁴. In vain did he attempt to cut their army in two, and take them in flank, by penetrating through certain openings. They received the Prussians on the point of the bayonet, and forced them to give way. He drew off his army, however, in good order, and re-occupied his former camp at Wehlaw.

While the Russians, now victorious, were ravaging the king of Prussia's dominions on one side of Germany, the French were stripping him of his possessions on the other, and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution. After the duke of Cumberland passed the Weser, he continued to retreat before mareschal d'Etrees, until he reached the village of Hastenbeck. Having chosen an advantageous post, he there attempted to make a stand, on the 25th of July; but being worsted, after a vigorous resistance, he was obliged to quit his station. Instead, however, of marching, immediately after the action, as prudence seemed to dictate, toward Wolfenbuttle, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, where he might have formed a junction with the Prussian forces, his royal highness retired to Hoya, under pretence of covering Bremen and Verden; though, in reality, in order to keep up a communication with Stade, whither had been removed the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover.

In the meantime that electorate, abandoned to the enemy, was laid under contribution. And the duke de Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, having succeeded to the chief command of the French army, soon saw himself master of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade. There, encamped between the Aller and the Elbe, it was supposed his royal highness would be able to maintain his ground till the close of the campaign, as the season was already far in the decline. But

34. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 145.

the enemy having taken effectual measures for cutting off his communication with the Elbe, he was under the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thousand SEPT. 8. Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majesty, was dissolved and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed, or considered as prisoners of war. The French were left, "till the *definitive reconciliation* of the two sovereigns," in full possession of the countries they had had

35. The court of France afterward insisted on the *disarming* of the troops, though the convention had observed a profound silence on that head. It only stipulated that on the cessation of hostilities, the auxiliary troops should be sent home, and that such part of the Hanoverian army as the duke of Cumberland could not place in the city of Stade, should go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe, and not be recruited. (See the *Articles* of the Convention itself, and the *Vindication of the king of England's conduct as the elector of Hanover*, published by authority.) Notwithstanding the notoriety of this fact, two cotemporary authors have affirmed, that in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven, "thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms!" *Contin. Hist. Eng.* vol. ii. Annual Reg. 1758.

36. This indefinite mode of expression gave rise to one of the most intricate disputes that ever employed the pens of political writers; and, as self-interest dictated the arguments on both sides of the question, much ingenuity and force of reasoning were displayed. The French with great plausibility, maintained that no other meaning could reasonably be affixed to the words of the convention (which, however, they attempted to mend by certain jesuitical expressions) than that which was natural and obvious: that the suspension of arms was to continue; and they, consequently, in possession of their conquests, till a general pacification. (*Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England*.) The English ministry, on the other hand, affirmed, that the suspension of arms was a mere military regulation, which was to continue in force only till the issue of a negotiation, then depending, begun by his Britannic majesty, in quality of elector of Hanover, and the suddenly expected declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles relative to such negotiation: that this was the reason why it was not thought necessary to fix the time the suspension of arms was to last. It was drawn up, they said, by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it should be of force withou

had conquered, though under the express condition of abstaining from future violences, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

Having thus subdued the German dominions of his Britannic majesty, the French were now at liberty to turn their whole forces against those of the king of Prussia. Mareschal Richelieu accordingly made his way into Halberstadt and the Old Marche of Brandenburg; first exacting contributions, and then plundering the towns. The army of the empire, under the prince of Hildburghausen, reinforced by that under the prince de Soubise, was on full march to enter Saxony. Twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by general Ungern Stornberg, had already entered Prussian Pomerania, under pretence of guaranteeing the treaty of Westphalia; and having taken the towns of Demmin and Anclam, and reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, they laid the whole country under contribution, without meeting with the smallest resistance, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of ten thousand men, could not leave that important fortress, in order to oppose their progress. The kingdom of Prussia was still a prey to the barbarities of the Russians. One Austrian army had entered Silesia, and laid siege to Schweidnitz; while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting itself before Berlin, laid that capital under contribution. The ruin of his Prussian majesty seemed inevitable.

This illustrious prince, driven out of Bohemia, was on all sides surrounded by powerful armies; and, in con-

without the ratification of the two courts; a thing impossible, if it is supposed the king of England's German dominions were to be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least prospect. "But it is evident," added they, "that France herself did not understand the hands of the Hanoverians to be tied up till a general peace, by the suspension of arms concluded at Closter-seven, from her insisting on having that stipulated, as an express condition, in her artful scheme of explication, proposed by the count de Lynar, the Danish minister." *Vindication of the King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover.*

sequence of the convention of Closter-seven, he seemed to be deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependence. In what manner he extricated himself out of these difficulties, and what line of policy was pursued, in such delicate circumstances, by his Britannic majesty, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

LETTER XXXIII.

STATE OF EUROPE, AND THE HISTORY OF THE GENERAL WAR,
CONTINUED FROM THE CONVENTION OF CLOSTER-SEVEN, TO
THE BATTLE OF MINDEN, OR THORNHAUSEN, IN 1759.

THE affairs of England, where tumult, clamour, and discontent had long prevailed, were still in disorder, when intelligence arrived of the humiliating convention of Closter-seven, which overwhelmed the court with shame and confusion. Pitt and Legge, the two popular ministers, had been restored to their respective offices, in compliance with the general wish of the nation, expressed in many warm addresses to the throne. But they had not yet had time to plan any regular system of measures; and the first enterprise they hazarded miscarried to the no small mortification of their friends, and to the severe disappointment, sorrow, and surprise of the whole kingdom.

This was an expedition to the coast of France, in order to raise the drooping spirits of the people by an appearance of vigour, and the credit of the British arms, so sunk in the eyes of all Europe, by some great blow, and to induce, if possible, the French monarch to withdraw part of his troops from Germany, for the defence of his own dominions, instead of prosecuting foreign conquests. Its ultimate purpose was the relief of the electorate of Hanover, and its immediate object the destruction

tion of the French shipping and naval stores at Rochfort. The destination of the armament, however, was kept a profound secret. But the highest expectations of success were formed from the magnitude of the preparations, and the confidence which the public had in the abilities of Mr. Secretary Pitt, by whom the enterprise was said to have been planned.

Happily these expectations began in some measure to abate, in consequence of certain unforeseen delays, before the sailing of the fleet. At length, on the ill-omened day that the duke of Cumberland signed the convention of Closter-seven, the formidable armament put to sea. It consisted of eighteen ships of the line, under sir Edward Hawke, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and a number of transports, carrying ten regiments of land forces, commanded by sir John Mordaunt. The hopes of the people were again revived; their petitions to heaven were fervent; and imagination, warmed by vows and wishes, looked fondly forward to some important conquest. What then was the astonishment of the nation, when this mighty fleet, which had cost the government almost a million of money, after beating off the coast of France for three weeks, and filling the inhabitants of the sea-ports with terror, returned to England without having taken so much as a fishing town!—without having attempted or effected any thing! except destroying some half-finished fortifications on the little island of Aix, situated at the mouth of the river Charente, which leads up to Rochfort. SEPT. 8.

Language cannot paint the expressions of disappointment that appeared on every countenance. Every heart seemed to feel the national disgrace, and every eye to lighten with indignation at the officers employed in the expedition. The officers endeavoured to throw the blame of their miscarriage on the ministry, in planning an impracticable enterprise. The ministry, supported by the voice of the people, retorted the charge, by accusing the officers of cowardice or incapacity. A

court.

court of inquiry, appointed by his majesty, *censured* the *conduct* of sir John Mordaunt, the commander in chief; and a *court-martial*, composed of officers of reputation, *acquitted* him of the charge of *disobeying* his *instructions*. The public opinion remained the same.

In the course of this trial and inquest, it appeared, that the ministry had reason to believe, on good information, that an attempt upon Rochfort would be very practicable. Nor was there any thing offered to prove the impracticability of such attempt, if it had been made when the fleet first arrived before that place. But it was proved, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, and to the severe regret of all lovers of their king and country, of every man who had any pride in the military glory of England, that the time which ought to have been employed in action was spent in consultations and councils of war, and the purposed descent finally relinquished without any sufficient cause¹. In a word, the principal officers, admiral Hawke excepted, seemed mutually desirous to avoid a landing. And their frequent consultations, notwithstanding the ardour of the troops, who were impatient to retrieve the honour of their country, seemed to have no more in view than a common excuse for inaction; a concerted apology for not making a descent, than any hostile purpose against the enemy.

While the people of Great-Britain were mourning over this shameful miscarriage, which, joined to the accumulating misfortunes of the king of Prussia, and the mortifying convention of Closter-seven, exhibited a most melancholy picture of their affairs in Europe, those in America did not afford a more flattering prospect. Although a large reinforcement of troops had been sent thither, and a vast supply of warlike stores, the third campaign served only to swell the triumphs of the enemy.

The attack upon Crown-point, so long meditated, was laid aside for an expedition against Louisbourg. Lord

1. See the printed *Evidence* in the publications of the time.

Loudon, who, in person was to command the land forces, accordingly left New-York on the ninth of July, with a body of six thousand men, and sailed to Halifax; where he was joined by admiral Holbourn with a considerable fleet, and about five thousand land forces. But when the fleet and army were almost ready to proceed for Cape-Breton, information was brought to Halifax, that the Brest fleet, consisting of seventeen ships of the line, beside frigates, with a reinforcement of troops, and an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions, was arrived at Louisbourg. This intelligence immediately suspended the preparations, and damped the ardour of the British officers. Councils of war were held one after another; and the result of the whole was, that as the place which had been the object of their armament was so strongly reinforced, the French fleet rather superior to the English, and the season of the year so far advanced, it was adviseable to defer the enterprise till a more favourable opportunity.

Thus terminated the projected expedition against Louisbourg, like that against Rochfort, in a manner inglorious to the British arms, and disgraceful to the spirit of the British officers. But those were not the worst consequences that attended it.

Since the taking of Oswego, the French had remained masters of the great lakes: nor could the British forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and seducing or compelling them to act in their favour. The country of the Six Nations, the only body of Indians who preserved even the shadow of friendship to England, was abandoned to the mercy of the barbarous enemy. The British forts at the great carrying place were demolished, and Wood-Creek was industriously shut up. In consequence of these unfortunate circumstances, all communication with our Indian allies was cut off; and what was still worse, the whole English frontier lay perfectly uncovered to the irruptions of the French and their desolating savages. All our fine settlements on the
Mohawk

Mohawk river, as well as on the ground, called the German Flats, were destroyed.

Elated with so many advantages, the French were ambitious of distinguishing the campaign by some important blow. And no sooner did the marquis de Montcalm learn, that lord Loudon, with the main body of the English forces, had left New-York, than he determined to lay siege to fort William Henry. This fort had been built on the southern side of lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the British settlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by colonel Monro. Nor were those its only security. An army of four thousand five hundred men, under the conduct of general Webb, was posted at no great distance, and a much greater force might have been assembled. The French forces, collected from Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent forts, together with a party of Indians and Canadians, are said to have amounted to nine thousand men. With these, and a good train of artillery, Montcalm advanced against the object of his enterprise, while general Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference bordering on infatuation, or intimately allied to baseness. In a word, the enemy meeting with no obstruction from the quarter whence they dreaded it most, obliged the English fort to surrender.

The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war. But the Indians in the French army, disregarding the articles of capitulation, fell upon the soldiers, and the savages in the English service, as soon as they left the place, pillaging them, dragging them out of their ranks, scalping, tomahawking, and exercising upon them every species of cruelty known among the natives of North-America². And what is yet more extraordinary, and what is to be hoped posterity will not

2. These barbarities are strongly delineated in many letters from the officers, after they arrived at New-York.

credit, two thousand Englishmen, with arms in their hands, and in danger every moment of becoming the victims of such violence, remained tame spectators of these barbarities, or sought safety only in flight!

The marquis de Montcalm, however, no less generous than brave, was able at length to quell the fury of the savages, and treated the sufferers with great humanity. Yet his summons to colonel Monro, when he began the siege, leaves room to suppose, that he meant in case of resistance, to strike terror into the British troops by a new display of Indian cruelty. "I am still able," says he, "to *restrain the savages*, and to *oblige them to observe a capitulation*, as none of them have been killed; but this *controul* will not be in my power in *other circumstances*."

When intelligence of those new losses and disgraces arrived in England, the people, already sufficiently mortified, sunk into a general despondency. And certain moral and political writers, who foretold the ruin of the nation, and ascribed its misfortunes to a total corruption of manners and principles, and an utter extinction of the martial spirit, gained universal credit⁴. But the more zealous friends of the new administration, in conjunction with the young officers of the army and navy, warmly vindicated the national character, and seemed to long for an opportunity to give the lie to the visionary prognostics of splenetic theory and croaking melancholy. In the meantime public opinion, ever fluctuating, and wholly governed by events, took a less gloomy direction. The first ray of hope came from the East.

When admiral Watson returned to the coast of Coromandel, after reducing the fortress of Gheria, the residence of the famous pirate Angria, he was informed of the loss of Calcutta, with all the horrid circumstances

3. Letter, dated August 3, 1757, and signed MONTCALM.

4. The most distinguished of these writers was Dr. Brown, whose estimate of the manners and principles of the times, abounding with awful predictions, was bought up and read with incredible avidity, and as much confided in as if he had been divinely inspired.

attending it, and resolved upon revenge. He accordingly took on board Mr. Clive, now advanced to the rank of colonel, with part of the English East India company's troops at Madras, and sailed for the bay of Bengal. By a zealous co-operation of the sea and land forces, the forts of Buzbuzia and Tannah were speedily reduced. The town of Calcutta was recovered; and the English colours being once more hoisted on fort William, Mr. Drake and the members of the council, who had hitherto remained on board the ships in the river, were again put in possession of the government.

Not satisfied with this success, the British commanders made themselves masters also of the large town of Hughley, where the nabob had established his principal magazines. Enraged at so many losses, and dreading more, Surajah Dowlah assembled a great army, and marched toward Calcutta, determined severely to chastise the audacity of the invaders, and even finally to expel every Englishman from the province of Bengal. But he met with so warm a salute from colonel Clive, captain Coote, and other gallant officers, at the head of the company's troops, reinforced with six hundred sailors from the fleet, as induced him to sue for peace, and agree to such terms as the English commanders thought proper to dictate. He engaged to restore to the East India company, all their factories, goods, and money, which had been seized by his orders; to reinstate them in all their former privileges; and to allow them to extend their presidency over thirty-eight neighbouring villages, conformable to a disputed grant that had been obtained from the great mogul^s.

Informed of the new war between France and Great-Britain, and having nothing now to fear from the nabob, the English commanders resolved to turn their arms against the French factories in Bengal. Their first object was the reduction of Chandernagore, the principal French

settlement in the province, and a place of great strength, situated a little higher on the river Hughley than Calcutta. In the expedition against this town and fort, colonel Clive commanded seven hundred European troops, and sixteen hundred sepoy, or soldiers of the country, habituated to the use of fire-arms. The squadron, consisting of three sail of the line, and a sloop of war, was conducted by the admirals Watson and Pocock. The place was defended by six hundred Europeans, and three hundred sepoy, who gallantly disputed every post. But so powerful was the cannonade from the ships, as soon as they could bring their guns to bear upon the works, and from two batteries, mounted with twenty-four pounders, that assailed with a cross fire the two bastions of the fort against which the men of war laid their broadsides, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, after a short but vigorous conflict of three hours.

As conquest naturally expands the views of the conqueror, Clive, who was formed for vast undertakings, no sooner found himself in possession of Chandernagore, then he conceived the design of humbling still farther the nabob of Bengal, and of advancing to a yet greater height the interests of the English East India company. And the conduct of that prince furnished him with many pretexts for renewing hostilities.

Surajah Dowlah was backward in fulfilling the treaty he had lately concluded with the company. He attempted to evade the execution of the chief articles of it; and he had entered into secret intrigues with the French, to whom he seemed disposed to afford protection in return for support. The English colonel, therefore, resolved to compel him to perform his stipulations; and, in case of refusal, to chastise him for his breach of faith, and even to divest him of his authority. In the last resolution he was confirmed (if it was not suggested) by a discovery of the dissatisfaction of Meer Jaffier, commander in chief of the nabob's forces, and of the intrigues

of Surajah Dowlah, with the French officers in the Decan.

The measures employed by Clive, to accomplish this revolution, do no less honour to his sagacity and address, as a politician, than to his vigour and skill, as a commander. While he conducted an intricate and dangerous negotiation with Meer Jaffier, by means of his agents, he counterfeited friendship so artfully, as not only to quiet the suspicions of the nabob, but to induce him to dissolve his army; which had been assembled at Plassy, a strong camp to the south of his capital, before the taking of Chandernagore, in consequence of a report, that the English commander meant next to attack Muxadavad. “Why do you keep your forces in the field,” said he insidiously, “after so many marks of friendship and confidence?—They distress all the merchants, and prevent us from renewing our trade. The English cannot stay in Bengal without freedom of commerce. Do not reduce us to the necessity of suspecting, that you intend to destroy us as soon as you have an opportunity.”

In order to quiet these pretended fears, Surajah Dowlah recalled his army, though not without great anxiety. “If,” cried he, with keen emotion, “the colonel should deceive me!”—And the secret departure of the English agents from Muxadavad soon convinced him that he was deceived. He again assembled his army, and ordered it to re-occupy its former camp at Plassy; after having made Meer Jaffier, by the most solemn oaths upon the Koran, renew his obligations of fidelity and allegiance.

The English commander, who had hoped to take possession of that important post, was not a little disconcerted by this movement. The nabob had reached Plassy, twelve hours before him, at the head of fifty thousand

foot, and eighteen thousand horse. These forces were protected by fifty pieces of cannon, planted in the openings between the columns, into which the Indian army was divided, and partly directed by forty Frenchmen. Clive, however, though surprised at the enemy's numbers, as well as at their formidable array, resolved to give them battle. He accordingly drew up his little army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoy's under cover of eight field-pieces. The cannonade was brisk on both sides, from eight o'clock in the morning till near noon; when a heavy shower damaged the enemy's powder, and their fire began gradually to flag.

Nor was this the only circumstance in favour of the English army. Surajah Dowlah, who had hitherto remained in his tent beyond the reach of danger, and been flattered every moment with assurances of victory, was now informed that Meer Murdeen, the only general on whose fidelity he could rely, was mortally wounded. Overwhelmed by so weighty a misfortune, he sent for Meer Jaffier, and throwing his turban on the ground, "Jaffier!" exclaimed he, "that turban you must defend." The traitor bowed, and with his hand on his breast, promised his best services. But no sooner did he join his troops, than he sent a letter to colonel Clive, acquainting him with what had passed; and requesting him either instantly to push on to victory, or to storm the nabob's camp, during the following night.

The letter, however, was not delivered till the fortune of the day was decided; so that Clive was still held in some degree of suspense with respect to the ultimate intentions of Jaffier. Meanwhile the nabob, understanding that his general continued inactive, suddenly ordered a retreat. Mounting a camel, soon after, he fled toward Muxadavad, accompanied by two thousand horsemen. And the English army, having surmounted every difficulty, entered his camp about five in the afternoon, without

out any other obstruction than what was occasioned by baggage and stores it being utterly abandoned by his troops, which were seen flying on all sides in the utmost confusion⁷.

Having at length received Meer Jaffier's letter, Clive pressed on with his victorious army to Doudpore, regardless of the rich plunder of the enemy's camp. He arrived there about eight o'clock in the evening, and next morning saluted the traitor, nabob (though more properly subah) of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa.

The new nabob hastened with his troops to Muxadavad, whither he was followed by the English commander. From that city, Surajah Dowlah had made his escape in disguise, the day after his defeat; accompanied only by his favourite women, and by the eunuch who governed his seraglio, having lost all confidence in his army, and in his officers, both civil and military. He was taken; brought back to his capital; imprisoned, and put to death by order of Meerum, the son of Jaffier; an ambitious and cruel youth, who was unwilling to leave any thing in the power of fortune that violence could secure⁸. Nor can his conduct be blamed on the maxims of Asiatic policy. His father's sway, which otherwise might have been disputed, was instantly acknowledged over all the three provinces that compose the viceroyalty of Subahship.

It now only remained for colonel Clive to make Meer Jaffier, whom he had seated in the *musund* or throne, fulfil the conditional engagements into which he had solemnly entered before the English army was put in motion for his support. After attempting some evasions, by pleading the lowness of his predecessor's treasury, the nabob found it necessary to adhere to every stipulation. And a treaty to the following purport was read, and acknowledged to have been signed by him.

7. Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book ii.

8. *Id* *ibid.*

“ I engage, that as soon as I shall be established in
 “ the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orixá, I will
 “ maintain the treaty of peace concluded with the Eng-
 “ lish by Surajah Dowlah; that the enemies of the
 “ English shall be my enemies, whether they be Indians
 “ or Europeans; that all the effects and factories belong-
 “ ing to the French in Bengal, the paradise of nations,
 “ or in Behar and Orixá, shall remain in the possession
 “ of the English—and I will never more allow them to
 “ settle in any of the three provinces; that, in considera-
 “ tion of the losses which the English company have
 “ sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by
 “ the nabob, and the charges occasioned by maintaining
 “ forces to recover their factories, I will give one *crore*
 “ of rupees,” equivalent to twelve hundred and fifty
 thousand pounds sterling; “ and that, for the effects plun-
 “ dered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta. I will
 “ give fifty *lacks* of rupees,” equivalent to six hundred
 and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. He also agreed
 to indemnify the Armenian, Gentoo, and other Asiatic
 inhabitants of Calcutta, and greatly to enlarge the terri-
 tory of the English East India company⁹. In a word,
 the indemnification and restitutions, with a donation of
 fifty lacks of rupees to the fleet and army, exclusive of
 private gratuities, amounted to the enormous sum of
 two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds
 sterling. Near one-third of that sum was immediately
 paid in coined silver¹⁰.

Before information arrived in England of this great
 revolution in the south of Asia, so favourable to the in-
 terests of Great-Britain, a variety of events had happen-
 ed in Europe, which served to revive the spirit of the
 English nation, and give a more agreeable turn to the
 affairs of his Britannic majesty and his allies.

While the king of Prussia was wholly occupied in
 observing the motions of the Austrians, and struggling

9. Orme. ubi sup. Lond. Gazette, Feb. 14, 1758.

10. Orme, book vii.
to

to preserve his footing in Bohemia, the army of the empire under the prince of Hildburghausen, having formed, as already observed, a junction with the French army under the prince de Soubise, at Erfurth, assumed the title of the *combined army*, whose immediate object it was to drive the Prussians out of Saxony. The generals of that army accordingly resolved to march down the Saala, (supposing they had nothing to apprehend from his Prussian majesty) and begin their operations with the siege of Leipsic. This enterprise they chose, in preference to any other, because they would there be at hand to receive all kind of succours from Richelieu's army, now entirely at liberty, in consequence of the convention of Closter-seven; and also because, in case of success, they could take up their winter-quarters in that part of Saxony, and proceed next campaign, in full force, to the entire conquest of the country, as well as to that of Magdeburg and Brandenburg. But all their designs were broken, by the vigilance and activity of the enterprising Frederic.

Aware of the necessity of opposing the progress of the French and Imperialists, or of humbling himself at the feet of his enemies, the king of Prussia pursued a line of conduct worthy of a hero and a commander. Leaving an army of forty battalions and seventy squadrons under the prince of Bevern, to observe the motions of the Austrians, and defend Silesia, he marched to Dresden; quickly assembled a new army, and proceeded to the Saala. The enemy abandoned Erfurth, on his approach, and retired to Eisenach. He followed them, with an intention to give them battle, but found them too advantageously posted to hazard an attack; and as they seemed studiously to decline an action, he fell back on the Saala, the better to subsist his troops. Various movements were afterwards made by both armies. And the generals of the combined army, having received a reinforcement under the duke de Broglio, during the absence of his Prussian majesty, who had been obliged to march to the relief of his capital, they resumed their
resolution

resolution of penetrating into Saxony. They accordingly passed the Saala, established their head-quarters at Weissenfels, and sent the count de Mailly to summon Leipsic.

Mareschal Keith, who had thrown himself into that important place with six thousand men, treated the summons with contempt. And before the enemy could form the siege, he was happily joined by the king of Prussia, who now saw the necessity of giving battle to the combined army, consisting of fifty thousand French and Imperialists, with less than half its numbers. With this view he passed the Saala at Weissenfels, Merseburg, and Halle, the enemy having repassed the same river on his approach, and assembled his troops near the village of Rosbach. The combined army was encamped in the neighbourhood; and his Prussian majesty, having examined the position of the enemy, resolved to attack them. He accordingly advanced with that intention; but finding they had changed their position, he desisted from the attempt, and encamped, with his left at Rosbach, his centre at Shartaw, and his right toward Bedra. The generals of the combined army, considering this caution as the effect of fear, and elated with their great superiority in numbers, determined to bring him to an engagement next morning. In consequence of that NOV. 5. resolution, they put their troops in motion about eleven o'clock, and advanced in order of battle; the cavalry in front, and the infantry in the rear.

The king of Prussia remained quiet till two o'clock; when, perceiving that the enemy's purpose was to attack his left flank, he ordered the main body of his army to march in that direction, behind the heights of Reicherswerben. These concealed his motions; and, in order farther to deceive the enemy, he left his camp standing, as if he had been in the most perfect, and even infatuated security. Confident of victory, the French and Imperialists advanced with so much precipitation, that their army was thrown into some disorder in its march; and before they had time to form, they were unexpectedly attacked and routed by the Prussian horse. Their
cavalry

cavalry attempted to rally behind the village of Busendorff; but the Prussians pursued their advantage with such ardour that the enemy were again routed and forced to quit the field.

Meanwhile the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry, though with little success. It was suddenly broken by the Prussian foot, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The prince de Soubise, however, did not yet give up the battle as lost. He ordered the body of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, to advance and sustain the infantry; in hopes of thus enabling them to form the line. But these fresh regiments were instantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field, like the former; and the infantry, after a vigorous combat, were also obliged to give way. A complete victory remained to his Prussian majesty, who did not lose above three hundred men; whereas the loss of the French and Imperialists amounted to near nine thousand, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the latter were eleven generals, and three hundred officers of inferior rank¹¹.

With the battle of Rosbach ended the campaign in Saxony, the combined army being no longer fit for action. But there was yet no rest for the victorious Frederic. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, assisted by mareschal Daun and general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that fine province, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. The first enterprise was the siege of Schweidnitz; a rich, populous, and strong town, situated in a plain about three miles beyond the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia, and garrisoned with six thousand men.

The siege of this important place was committed to general Nadasti, who invested it on the 26th of October.

11. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 97.

Meantime the prince of Bevern lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Breslaw, in order to cover that capital; while the prince of Lorrain and mareschal Daun took post at no great distance to watch his motions, and prevent his marching to the relief of Schweidnitz. And Nadasti, who was reinforced during the siege by a large body of Bavarians and Wurtembergers, conducted his operations with so much vigour, that, three redoubts being carried at once by assault, the place was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war ^{NOV. 11.} after the trenches had been open only twelve days.

Prince Charles, having thus secured a communication with Bohemia, by acquiring the command of the defiles, and also a place well stored with provisions, to retire into in case of disaster, was encouraged to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp, though now strongly fortified, as soon as he was joined by Nadasti. The cannonading began at nine in the morning, and ^{NOV. 25.} was continued with great fury till noon, when the Prussian entrenchments were stormed in every quarter. Twice were the Austrians repulsed with great slaughter; but their third attack was irresistible. The Prussians were driven from most of their redoubts; and the prince of Bevern, taking advantage of the friendly approach of night, which only prevented his entrenchments being entirely forced, abandoned his lines, and retired behind the Oder. Nor was this his only misfortune. Going to reconnoitre the victorious enemy, two days after the battle, he was made prisoner by a party of Croats, and Breslaw surrendered to the Austrians¹².

In this desperate situation were the affairs of his Prussian majesty, notwithstanding his success at Rosbach. At that time anxious for the safety of ^{NOV. 28.} Silesia, the great bone of contention, he arrived at Parchwitz, on the Oder, with his small but victorious army, now consisting only of nineteen battalions

12. Id. *ibid*.

and thirty-three squadrons. Here he was joined by the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern; the whole forming a gallant body of thirty-six thousand men, determined to conquer or die with their leader.

The Austrians, thinking the campaign finished, were preparing to go into winter-quarters¹³, when they heard of the warlike king's approach. It rather surprised than alarmed them. Prince Charles and mareschal Daun immediately resolved to give him battle. Having left a strong garrison in Breslaw, they accordingly passed the river at Schweidnitz, at the head of eighty thousand good troops, and were advancing toward Glogaw
DEC. 5. with the fullest assurance of victory, when they were met by the Prussian monarch at the village of Luthen, near Lissa. There a general engagement took place.

The Austrian or Imperial army was very strongly posted. It was drawn up in a plain, behind several little hills, which were all covered with heavy cannon; and its left was farther secured by a mountain and a wood, also planted with artillery. The village of Nypern, on the right wing, and that of Luthen on the left, were likewise fortified, and filled with infantry. But prince Charles and mareschal Daun made less use than might have been expected of so advantageous a position. Deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia toward their right, against which he made violent demonstrations, they drew their chief strength thither; whilst he, concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a sublime stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he had meditated his real attack¹⁴. And
mareschal

13. Lloyd, ubi sup.

14. The description of this battle is drawn from a diligent comparison of the Prussian and Austrian accounts, published by authority; yet does the author of the historical article, in the *Annual Register* for 1758,
said

mareschal Daun, who commanded in person on the right of the Austrians, instead of attacking the thin left wing of the Prussians, which he might certainly have broken, and by that means have divided the king's attention, as well as his force, ordered the Austrian right and centre to sustain the left wing, already in confusion, and retiring so fast as to throw the fresh troops into disorder; whilst the victorious enemy, advancing in order of battle, prevented them from forming. The left wing, therefore, excepted, the whole Austrian army was routed one battalion after another.

Other circumstances contributed to the success of his Prussian majesty. The auxiliary troops, consisting of Bavarians and Wurtembergers, who had never seen an enemy, being injudiciously placed on the most exposed part of the Austrian left wing, were soon broken by the Prussian infantry. And the sagacious Frederic, whose superior genius alike enabled him to take advantage of the enemy's blunders, and to defeat their best conducted schemes, having foreseen that general Nadasti, with the Austrian body of reserve, would probably advance and attack the cavalry of his right wing, had wisely placed four battalions behind them; so that when this commander attempted to take the Prussians in flank, and had thrown some regiments of horse into confusion the fire of the four concealed battalions obliged him to retire in disorder.

The Austrians, however, made a vigorous stand at the village of Luthen, which was fortified with redoubts and entrenchments, and defended by the flower of the Imperial army. But after a desperate combat, maintained for more than an hour, during which the fortune of the day seemed still doubtful, the Prussian infantry having been three times repulsed in spite of their most gallant efforts, the village was abandoned, and a com-

said to be the late Dr. Campbell, and other English historians, in blind submission to his authority, represent the *real attack* to have been made on the Austrian *right wing*.

plete

plete victory left to the king, who pursued the enemy as far as Lissa.

The action lasted from one till four in the afternoon, when the Austrians were defeated in all quarters; and night only prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. They left about six thousand men dead on the field, with almost an equal number wounded. And the Prussians took, within a week after the battle, twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand waggons, and two hundred pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of military trophies. Their own loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to at least five thousand⁵. Few battles have been more obstinately disputed, and none could be more honourable to the victors.

But the consequences of the battle of Lissa are the best proof of the king of Prussia's decisive victory, as well as of the honour with which it was gained. The terror inspired by his arms, every where communicated by the celerity of his motions, was for a time of as much use as his effective force. He immediately invested Breslaw, which surrendered in a few days, though gar-
 DEC. 19. risoned with seventeen thousand men, who were all made prisoners of war⁶. And prince Charles, having collected the remains of his broken forces, retired into Bohemia before the close of the year.

Nothing now remained to the Austrians in Silesia, but the town of Schweidnitz, which his Prussian majesty was too prudent to invest during the rigour of winter, when his troops required repose; especially as he thought it must necessarily fall in the spring. And he was not deceived in his conjecture.

The same good fortune had attended the king of Prussia's affairs in every quarter. The Russians, by making war like barbarians, had so completely exhausted the country they invaded, that they were obliged to return home, for want of provisions, on the approach of winter, leaving only a garrison in Nemel. In consequence

15. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 134.

16. Id. *ibid*.

of this retreat, general Lewhald, who commanded the royal army in Prussia, was left at liberty with thirty thousand men. These he conducted into Pomerania, and obliged the Swedes to abandon all their conquests, except the Penamundar and Anclamer entrenchments, and retire under the cannon of Stralsund, before the end of December. Meantime mareschal Keith had entered Bohemia, with eight thousand men, in the absence of the prince of Lorrain; and having raised contributions in different districts, and given an alarm even to Prague itself, returned unmolested into Saxony, where he put his troops into winter-quarters.

Nor was this good fortune confined merely to the king of Prussia. It extended even to his subjected allies.

The French, intent only upon plunder, broke almost every article of the convention of Closter-seven. And, in order more freely to indulge their rapacity, and preclude even the possibility of revenge, the duke de Richelieu insisted, that the brave, but unfortunate Hanoverians and Hessians, who had acted under the duke of Cumberland, should deliver up their arms; while the court of Versailles, under the pretence that this and other stipulations had been omitted through neglect, refused to ratify the ignominious convention, unless certain explanations were added, although military conventions are supposed to require no ratification, and are never violated but by the most faithless nations.

Roused by these injuries and indignities, by tyranny and rapine, abetted by national treachery; but chiefly by the terror of being deprived of their arms, the last disgrace of soldiers; the Hanoverian troops, though distributed into different cantonments, secretly resolved to rescue their country from oppression, and had begun to collect themselves, in consequence of that resolution, when the victory, obtained by the king of Prussia at Rosbach, more fully awakened their courage, and confirmed them in their generous purpose.

Pleased with the zeal so conformable to his wishes, and thinking himself now fully released from the mortifying shackles

shackles of neutrality imposed upon him by the convention of Closter-seven, so shamefully violated and disavowed by the court of Versailles, his Britannic majesty invested prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of his electoral forces, and ordered him to renew hostilities against his cruel and perfidious enemies. Assembled under this gallant leader, the Hanoverians bravely made head against their conquerors; and being reinforced in the beginning of the year by a body of Prussian horse, they pushed the French from post to post, and obliged them to evacuate successively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden. A.D. 1758.

The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, where the enemy attempted to make a stand, were reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the same river, and made prisoners a garrison of four thousand men. An English squadron, under commodore Holmes, compelled them to abandon Embden, the capital of East-Friesland. And the wretched remnant of a great and lately victorious army found the utmost difficulty in repassing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off by a body of men, whom it had, a few months before, vanquished, insulted, and trampled upon.

From this reproach, so justly merited by the French officers as well as soldiers, while in possession of Hanover, the duke de Randan, a nobleman of great honour and integrity, who commanded in the capital, was happily exempted. As the pride of conquest had never made him behave with insolence, resentment had as little power to make him act with rigour on the adverse turn of affairs. He not only endeavoured, at all times, to restrain the soldiers within the bounds of discipline, but exhibited a glorious proof of humanity, when ordered to evacuate the place. Instead of destroying the magazine of provisions according to the usual, and often wantonly cruel, practice of war, he generously left it in the hands of the magistrates, to be distributed among the

the lower class of the inhabitants, who had long been exposed to the pressure of famine !

Never, perhaps, in any one campaign, were the changes of fortune, the accidents of war, the power of generalship, or the force of discipline, so fully displayed, as in that of 1757. Influenced by those changes, the British ministry embraced a new system of policy. Mr. secretary Pitt, who, in order to govern the councils of his sovereign, had found it expedient to form a coalition with the duke of Newcastle and other members of the old administration, also thought fit to contradict his former sentiments, and the arguments founded upon them, and become the advocate of a German war. But perhaps such a sacrifice of sentiments was necessary, in order to enable the great commoner to serve his country, even in this preposterous manner. George II. though a magnanimous prince, and a lover of his British subjects, was impatient of contradiction in whatever concerned his German dominions.

In consequence of the new system of policy, adopted by the British ministry, and the ardour with which the parliament and the people entered into their views, a second treaty or convention was signed at London, between the king of Prussia and his Britannic majesty; by which the contracting parties engaged to conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, ^{APRIL 11.} with the hostile powers, but in concert and by mutual agreement and participation. And the king of Great-Britain engaged to pay immediately to the Prussian monarch the sum of four millions of German crowns, or six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, in order to enable him to maintain and augment his forces, to be employed in the common cause. Liberal supplies were also granted for the support of the army under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: and it was farther resolved to reinforce it with a body of British troops.

The councils of Lewis XV. experienced a change, no less remarkable than that which had taken place in those of George II. The French ministers had long been the sport

sport of female caprice. It was their power of pleasing Madame de Pompadour, a favourite mistress, who entirely governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most honest and able men in the kingdom were turned out of their employments with marks of disgrace, while others retired with indignation from public service. But the misfortunes of the French arms, at length, obliged the court of Versailles to call men to the public service upon public principles.

The mareschal duke de Belleisle, whose exploits I have already had occasion to relate, and whose abilities were known to all Europe, was placed at the head of the military departments, as minister for war. "I know," said he, in entering on his office, "the miserable state of our armies, and it fills me at once with grief and indignation; for the disgrace and infamy which it reflects upon our government, are more to be lamented than the evil itself:—I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging, and licentious violence, have been carried by our officers and common men, after the example of their commanders. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman. But thank God! my principles are known to be very different from those that have lately been adopted.

"Had I commanded the army, many enormities would have been repressed; a thousand things that have been done, would have been omitted; whilst others that have been neglected, would have been executed. I should have multiplied my communications; I should have had strong posts on the right, on the left, and in the centre: I should have had magazines every where. The quiet and satisfaction of the conquered, under a mild administration, would have been equal to that resentment they have discovered at being plundered and oppressed; and we should have been as much beloved and admired by them, as we are at present contemned and abhorred. The fatal consequences of a
"different

“ different line of conduct are too obvious to need being
 “ pointed out: they are severely felt. We must not,
 “ however, supinely sink under our misfortunes. A late
 “ reformation, though it seldom can effectually remedy
 “ the disorder, is better than unavailing complaint, or the
 “ tolerance of abuse; let us, therefore, seriously set about
 “ it. There is yet room for hope: and, in our situation,
 “ the absence of future evil may be esteemed a desirable
 “ good¹⁶.”

The duke de Belleisle accordingly made every possible exertion, to communicate strength and order to the French army upon the Rhine, now commanded by the count de Clermont, who had succeeded the ravenous and dissipated Richelieu. A body of troops was also assembled at Hanau, under the prince de Soubise, supposed to be intended to penetrate into Bohemia, or to reinforce the army of the empire; but in reality to invade the territories of Hesse-Cassel, and oblige the landgrave to renounce the alliance of his Britannic majesty. In the meantime prince Ferdinand having passed the Rhine, in the face of an enemy fifty thousand strong, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, on the twenty-third day of June, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, with the loss of seven thousand men, and many officers of distinction.

Among these was the count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, who had been mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, while animating it by his example to make a vigorous effort. His fate was much lamented both by the victors and the vanquished. Having been educated with all the care which an enlightened father could bestow upon a son of fine talents, in order to enable him to maintain the reputation of his ancestors, he united the purest morals to the most elegant manners. He was not only a lover of learning, but master himself of many branches of it. He had seen every part of Europe, and read courts and nations with a discerning eye.

16. *Annual Register*, for 1758.

Military experience was only wanting to complete his accomplishments, and render him a support as well as an ornament to his country. He resolved to acquire such experience. Though lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house, himself the last hope of a most noble family, he entered that course of glory and danger, which his own ardent spirit and the wishes of his countrymen pointed out to him, and fell in his first campaign. The affectionate father, and patriotic minister, deeply mourned his loss, and mingled the public with the private tear.

The taking of Dusseldorp, however, was the only visible effect of a victory, which did great honour to the military capacity of the Hanoverian general, and to the bravery of his troops. The French army, under the count de Clermont, who was immediately succeeded by M. de Contades, being on its own frontier, was quickly and strongly reinforced; so that prince Ferdinand saw reason to apprehend, that he might soon be obliged to repass the Rhine, by an enemy he had lately defeated. But he resolved to maintain his ground as long as possible, in hopes of being joined by the British troops, the first division of which was already landed at Embden; and, on their arrival, he did not doubt of being able to transfer the seat of war from the Rhine to the Maese, and of gaining such advantages over M. de Contades, as would make it necessary for the prince de Soubise to come to his assistance. Meantime he flattered himself, that the prince of Ysenberg, who commanded the Hessian troops, would be able to protect the territories of the landgrave, and find the French general sufficient employment in that quarter. But in this hope he was disappointed:—and certain unforeseen circumstances conspired to render his whole splendid scheme abortive.

The duke de Broglie, with a strong detachment from the army of the prince de Soubise, defeated the Hessian army, on the twenty-third day of July, near Shangershausen. That victory gave the French the command of the Weser, and it was to be feared, if they availed themselves

selves of the advantages they had acquired, that they might be able to cut off the British troops, now on their march to join the Hanoverian army. In such circumstances, prince Ferdinand had no alternative, but either to repass the Rhine or give battle to M. de Contades. The French general studiously avoided an engagement, and heavy rains had rendered the passage of the Rhine impracticable.

Meanwhile M. de Chevert, who had passed that river some time before, with twelve thousand men, in order to attempt the recovery of Dusseldorp, having attacked baron Imhoff, posted near the bridge of Rees with six battalions and four squadrons, (to protect a magazine at Meer, and favour the march of the British troops) was repulsed with great slaughter. Imhoff joined the British forces; and M. de Contades, convinced of the superiority of the Hanoverians in valour and discipline, though much inferior in numbers, permitted prince Ferdinand to repass the Rhine almost without molestation. The Hessians, assured of support, wore a good countenance, notwithstanding the defeat of general Oberg, who had been sent to their assistance, and the British troops were zealous for action. But the season being too far in the decline to admit of any new plan of operations, prince Ferdinand put his army into winter-quarters in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim, toward the end of October¹⁷.

During these transactions on the Rhine, the king of Prussia had experienced many changes of fortune. Having spent the winter in Silesia, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, and obliged the Austrian garrison to surrender in twelve days. APRIL 16. On the recovery of that important place, he divided his principal army, consisting of fifty thousand choice troops, into three bodies; the first commanded by mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third

17. Lond. *Gazettes*, passim.

by prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. With this army, after threatening Bohemia, he suddenly entered Moravia; which, for various reasons, he intended to make the theatre of war, but for none more than its having been hitherto exempted from contribution. Meanwhile he dispatched his brother Henry, with a body of thirty thousand men, to oppose the army of the empire, which was assembled, under the prince of Deuxponts, near Bamberg in Franconia.

As his Prussian majesty, by his rapid and unexpected march into Moravia, threw his enemies behind him, it was thought he would proceed directly to Vienna. But that politic and enterprising prince, though surely not destitute of ambition, or of the power of forming great designs, chose to pursue a more moderate line of conduct. He saw the danger of leaving an Austrian garrison in Olmutz, supported by an Austrian army in his rear; and therefore resolved to make himself master of that strong town, before he advanced farther.

MAY 27. The trenches were accordingly opened before it, and with the utmost sanguine hopes of success. In the meantime mareschal Daun, having quitted his camp at Lieutomysse, in Bohemia, entered Moravia by the way of Billa.

Too cautious, and perhaps too weak, to attempt the relief of Olmutz, by hazarding a battle, the Austrian general took post in the neighbouring mountains, between Gewitz and Littaw; where he could be plentifully supplied with provisions from Bohemia, and whence he could retard the operations of the besiegers, by keeping them in continual alarm, at the same time that he could throw succours into the place, and obstruct the Prussian convoys from Silesia. In the last, his chief object, he was particularly successful.

After Olmutz had been invested about four weeks, and when the siege was in great forwardness, notwithstanding the difficulties with which it was attended, mareschal Daun intercepted a convoy of four hundred waggons near the defiles of Domstadt, and obliged general

ral Zeithen, who escorted it, to retire to Troppaw. This loss was irreparable. The king of Prussia, therefore, saw the necessity of relinquishing his enterprise; especially as he had received intelligence, that the Russians, already on the frontiers of Silesia, and laying every thing waste, in their progress, with fire and sword, were preparing to enter that fine country, yet bleeding from the ravages of war.

But the gallant Frederic, who, although he sometimes forgot himself in prosperity, by being too much elated, never sunk under the pressure of adversity, acquired as much honour in conducting his retreat, as Daun did in making it necessary. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his own dominions, he determined to take his route through the dominions of the enemy. And as mareschal Daun, more effectually to succour Olmutz, had been obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia, his Prussian majesty found no difficulty in accomplishing his purpose. Having concealed, under an incessant fire, his intention of raising the siege, he lifted his camp at midnight; and proceeded with so little molestation, that he arrived at Koningsgratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, his military stores entire, and even all his sick and wounded^e!—here he allowed his army some repose, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. But that repose was of short duration. Understanding that the Russians, instead of invading Silesia, had entered the New Marche of Brandenburg, and invested Custrin, a fortified town within fifty miles of Berlin, he instantly marched to its relief; and notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian generals, and the activity of their light troops, he formed a junction with lieutenant-general Dohna, at Frankfort on the Oder, with very little loss.

No sooner did the Russian generals, Brown and Fermor, receive intelligence of the king of Prussia's approach, than they abandoned the siege of Custrin, and took post near the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. Though greatly out-numbered by the cruel invaders, the king resolved to give them battle; conscious that his troops must be stimulated by every motive which can impel men to vigorous exertions. Revenge for barbarous wrongs, a desire of saving their country, on the brink of ruin, from future ravages, and of acquiring honour under the eye of a sovereign and a commander, who had often led them to glory and to conquest, he presumed must actuate their hearts. They did not disappoint his hopes.

Having passed the Mitzel, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussian monarch attempted to turn the enemy's left wing; but the Russian generals, AUG. 25. penetrating his purpose, defeated it by very excellent dispositions. As the ground did not admit of an extended line, they threw their army into the form of a square, defended on every side by cannon and chevaux de frise. And in this position they waited the attack of the Prussians, who began the battle with a powerful fire of artillery, which lasted near two hours. Then the Prussian infantry advanced to the charge, and completed the havock made by the artillery. Whole regiments of Russians were cut to pieces, by bullets or bayonets, but not a man offered to quit his rank; and fresh regiments still pressing forward, the Prussian infantry, which had given and received so many terrible shocks, with immovable firmness, yeilded to the collected impulse.

In that moment of danger and dismay, when all seemed lost, the intrepid Frederic, by a rapid and masterly movement, brought the whole cavalry of his right wing to support his centre. Pressing upon the Russian foot, uncovered by their already broken horse, the Prussian cavalry pushed them back with great slaughter,
and

and allowed the brave battalions leisure to recollect themselves. Returning to the charge, enflamed with rage and resentment at their disgrace, the Prussian infantry decided the doubtful contest. The Russians were every where thrown into confusion. They no longer distinguished friends from foes: they fired upon each other, in their ungovernable fury, and even plundered their own baggage. It was now no longer a battle, but a horrid carnage; yet the Russians, though thus distracted and broken, incredible as it may seem, never offered to quit the field. They kept their ground till seven o'clock in the evening, when they made a new struggle for victory, and darkness only put a stop to the effusion of blood. Ten thousand of their best troops were left dead on the spot, and about half that number was mortally wounded. The loss of the Prussians did not exceed fifteen hundred men¹⁹.

The Russians, in consequence of this severe chastisement, retreated before the victors as far as Lansperg on the frontiers of Poland; and the king of Prussia, happy in having freed his dominions from such a dreadful scourge, hastened to the relief of his brother Henry, now encompassed with enemies, and in the greatest danger of being utterly cut off. He had to oppose not only the army of the empire, much superior to his own; the grand Austrian army also entered Saxony, under mareschal Daun: and both these armies proposed to attack him at once. But fortunately his own strong position at Dippoldswalde, which he had chosen in order to cover Dresden, and command the course of the Elbe, and the timely arrival of the Prussian monarch, extricated him from all his difficulties, and disconcerted the designs of his enemies. They could not even prevent the king from joining him. And on this junction, mareschal Daun retired from the neighbourhood of Dresden, SEPT. 11. and fell back as far as Zittaw; while the army of the

19. Letters from the king of Prussia, &c. in Lon. Gazette, Sept. 8, 1758.
empire

empire took shelter in the strong post of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied at the beginning of the war.

But the Austrian commander, though induced by his extreme caution to avoid an immediate engagement, did not for a moment lose sight of his antagonist. Advantageously posted at Stolpen, he preserved a communication with the army of the empire, and watched the motions of his Prussian majesty with as keen an attention as ever Fabius, to whom he has been compared, did those of the great Carthaginian general.

The king of Prussia, after various movements, for protecting Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and cutting off their communication with Bohemia, took post in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen; whence he could command both Misnia and Lusatia, and at the same time preserve a communication with the army of prince Henry. Mareschal Daun, who had observed these motions with concern, advanced to Kitlitz, and came to a resolution of attacking the Prussian camp by surprize; as the only means of preserving his footing in Saxony, or finding his way out of it with safety.

Having communicated this design to the prince of Deuxponts, who still commanded the army of the empire, the Austrian general put his army in motion about midnight, and arrived at the place of his destination, undiscovered, by five o'clock in the morning. The
OCT. 14. Prussian right wing was surprized and routed; and mareschal Keith and prince Francis of Brunswick were killed, in bravely attempting to turn the tide of battle. Their efforts, however, were not without effect. Prince Francis was early slain; but Keith, at the head of the Prussian infantry, obstinately maintained the combat against the whole weight of the Austrian army. Though wounded he refused to quit the field. He still continued to animate the companions of his perils; and he had repulsed the Austrians, by his persevering valour,
and

and was pursuing them, when he received the deadly bullet in his breast²⁰.

The king of Prussia, who never stood more in need of all his firmness, activity, and presence of mind, now assumed in person the command of his gallant infantry. But finding it impracticable to recover the village of Hochkirchen, which had been lost in the first surprise, he ordered his right wing to fall back as far as Weissenberg, the left still remaining at Bautzen. This position was nearly as good as the former. But his Prussian majesty, beside the loss of reputation inseparable from a defeat, had lost two able generals, seven thousand brave men, and the greater part of his camp-equipage²¹. Yet had the Austrians small cause of exultation. They had lost about the same number of men, without accomplishing their purpose. The vanquished enemy was still formidable.

Of this the victors had soon many distinguished proofs. So little was the king of Prussia discouraged by his defeat, that he offered battle to mareschal Daun immediately after it. And as the Austrian commander not only declined the challenge, but kept cautiously within his fortified camp, (in hopes of amusing his heroic antagonist, whom he durst not openly meet in the field, till some blow could be given in another quarter, or some

20. Lloyd, vol. i. Mareschal Keith was brother to the attainted earl-mareschal of Scotland; had been engaged with him in the rebellion in 1715, and was obliged on that account to abandon his country. He raised himself to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the Russian service in 1734, and highly distinguished himself against the Turks in 1737, especially at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. In 1741, and 1742 he commanded against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Williamstrand. In 1747 he quitted the Russian service, and entered that of Prussia. In 1749 he was made a knight of the black eagle and governor of Berlin, with a pension of twelve thousand dollars, beside his pay. In the present war he approved himself a great commander. He was a middle-sized man, with a very martial countenance, but of a humane and benevolent temper. *Id.* *bid.*

21. Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

new advantage stolen in an unguarded hour) the protector of his people, and the avenger of their wrongs, took a bolder method of shewing his superior generalship, and of recovering that trophy which had been torn from his brow, not by the sword of valour, but by the wily hand of stratagem. Darting, like the lightning of Heaven, to a distant scene of action, he struck his enemies with terror, and mankind with admiration.

The Austrian generals, Harsche and de Ville, having already formed the siege of Neiss and the blockade of Cosel, his Prussian majesty saw the necessity of marching to the relief of Silesia, be the fate of Saxony what it might. Committing this important conquest to the care of his brother Henry, he accordingly quitted his camp
OCT. 24. at Dobreschutz; and by the celerity of his motions soon arrived, without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz.

In consequence of this rapid march, all the advantages of mareschal Daun's studied position, and all the promised fruits of his boasted victory at Hochkirchen, were lost in a moment. An open passage into Silesia now lay before the Prussian monarch. And he pursued his rout without interruption, or any considerable loss; though general Laudohn hung upon his rear with twenty-four thousand men, and another army was sent to attack him in front. In spite of the efforts of all these armies,
NOV. 1. the intrepid Frederic accomplished his purpose, and defeated the designs of his numerous enemies. The siege of Neiss was raised on his approach, as was the blockade of Cosel; and the armies, under the generals Harsche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia²².

Having thus driven the Austrians out of Silesia, without being under the necessity of hazarding a battle, the king of Prussia instantly returned by the same route, and with the same expedition, to the relief of Saxony, now in a manner covered with the forces of his enemies.

The army of the empire had obliged prince Henry to abandon his post at Sedlitz, and had cut off his communication with Leipsic, at the same time that mareschal Daun attempted to obstruct his communication with Dresden. He found means, however, to throw himself into the latter, and afterward to retire to the other side of the Elbe. Meanwhile the Austrians and Imperialists laid siege to those two important places, while a third army advanced toward Torgaw, and invested that strong fortress. But Dresden, before which ^{NOV. 9.} mareschal Daun appeared with an army of sixty thousand men, and which was defended only by the fifth part of that number, was the enemy's grand object. Count Schemettau, the Prussian governor, was therefore under the necessity of setting fire to the suburbs, in order to preserve the city for his master; and two hundred and sixty-six houses were consumed, but very few persons lost their lives²³.

This conflagration has been represented by the emissaries of the court of Vienna, and by certain declamatory writers, as a terrible outrage on humanity. But as it appears that the inhabitants had timely notice of the governor's intention²⁴, he seems to have acted in perfect conformity with the laws of war, even as explained by the benevolent spirit of Montesquieu. For those laws require, that, in military operations, the least possible injury, consistent with the acquisition or preservation of dominion, be done to the body of the people²⁵.

By the destruction of the suburbs of Dresden, the cause of so much clamour and obloquy, the city was rendered more secure. It could not now be taken but by a regular siege; that must require time; and the king of Prussia was fast advancing to its relief. These considerations induced mareschal Daun to relinquish his enterprise; and the Prussian monarch, a few days after, entered Dresden in triumph. The siege of Leipsic was ^{NOV. 20.}

23. *Certificates of the magistrates of Dresden*, No. II. III. *Ap. Ann. Reg.* 1758.

24. *Id. Ibid.*

25. *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. x.

raised;

raised ; that of Glogaw had before been given up ; and the Austrian and Imperial armies retired into Bohemia, where they went into winter-quarters, without attempting any thing farther. Nor was this all. The Russians who, in their retreat had invested Colberg, in Prussian Pomerania, were obliged to abandon the undertaking with disgrace ; and the Swedes, who had entered the same country, were not more fortunate in their operations than their barbarous allies²⁶. The king of Prussia, triumphant over all his enemies, appeared greater than ever. Equally distinguished by valour and conduct, the exploits of every other commander were lost in the splendour of his victories and retreats.

While those illustrious achievements were performing in Germany, the grand theatre of war, the British arms had recovered their lustre, both by land and sea. The vigorous and enterprising spirit of the prime minister seemed to communicate itself to all ranks and classes of men, but more especially to the officers of the army and navy. Patriotic zeal took place of sluggish indifference, prompt decision of wavering hesitation, and fearless exertion of timid caution. The nerve of action was new strung. Every bosom panted for fame, and for an opportunity of retrieving the national honour.

That bold spirit of enterprise, which caught fresh fire from the king of Prussia's victories, and the successes of the army under prince Ferdinand, was also inflamed by certain fortunate events at sea, in the beginning of the season. As admiral Osborn was cruising off the coast of Spain between cape de Gatt and Carthagenas, he fell in with a French squadron, on the 28th of February, consisting of three sail of the line and a frigate, commanded by the marquis du Quesne. The frigate escaped by swiftness of sailing. But two of the ships of the line, the *Foudroyant* of eighty guns, and the *Orpheus* of sixty-four, were taken after an obstinate resistance ; and the third, named the *Oriflamme*, was driven ashore near the

26. Foreign Gazette, passim.

castle of Aiglos, where she found shelter under the Spanish neutrality²⁷.

This was a sharp blow. The French not only lost two capital ships, but saw them added to the British navy. Nor was that their only misfortune by sea. Sir Edward Hawke, in the beginning of April, dispersed and drove on shore, near the isle of Aix, a French fleet, consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, with a large quantity of provisions and stores, intended for the support of their settlements in North-America²⁸. Two other convoys were dispersed, and several transports taken; and on the 29th of May, the *Raisonable*, a French ship of the line, commanded by the prince de Mombazon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, and mounting sixty-four guns, was taken by captain Dennis in the *Dorsetshire*, an English seventy-gun ship, after a smart engagement.

Roused to enthusiasm by these victories, and the rising passion for glory, the people of England, who had so lately trembled under the apprehensions of a French invasion, now talked of nothing but carrying hostilities into the heart of France. And the popular minister, instead of regulating that enthusiasm, by confining it to its proper element, or directing its energy against important objects, allowed it to take its own wild sweep, and spend the strongest impulse of its force in air.

A new expedition to the coast of France was planned, notwithstanding the miscarriage of the former, and the disgrace it had brought upon the British arms; such a descent being represented by the great commoner, as the most effectual means of serving his majesty's German allies, by drawing the attention of the enemy to their own internal defence, and consequently of weakening their efforts upon the Rhine. Two strong squadrons, destined

27. Letter from admiral Osborne, March 12, 1758.

28. Letter from sir Edward Hawke, April 11. 1758.

for this service, were accordingly equipped; the greater, consisting of eleven ships of the line, commanded by the admirals Anson and Hawke, and the smaller of four sail of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, under the direction of commodore Howe. The forces embarked, for the same purpose, consisted of sixteen regiments of foot, nine troops of light-horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, assisted by lord George Sackville.

That great armament sailed from the isle of Wight (where the troops had been for some time encamped) in the beginning of June, leaving every heart elated with the highest hopes of its success. Nor did these hopes seem ill-founded. The admirals Anson and Hawke, with the fleet under their command, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to spread more widely the alarm, and watch the motion of the French squadron in Brest harbour; while commodore Howe with the transports, and the squadron appointed for their protection, steered directly to St. Malo, a sea-port town on the coast of Brittany, against which the armament seemed to have been destined, if it had any particular object. As the place appeared too strong to admit of any attempt on the side next the sea, the troops were disembarked in Canelle bay, about two leagues distant, with a view of attacking it on the land-side. But it was found, when reconnoitred, to be equally inaccessible on that side, except by regular approaches, for which the invaders were not prepared²⁹. They, therefore, contended themselves with destroying the shipping and naval stores at St. Servan, a kind of suburb of St. Malo, and returned to Spithead without attempting any thing farther.

29. Lond. Gazette, June 17, 1758. See also a Letter from an officer on board of the Essex, commodore Howe's ship.

The success of this expedition, though considerable, by no means answered the ardour of public expectation. But that ardour was again excited, by the most vigorous preparations for a new armament, which sailed from St. Helens on the first of August; the land forces commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, (the duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville having been sent to command the British forces in Germany) and the fleet and transports under the conduct of commodore Howe. The troops were disembarked in the neighbourhood of Cherburg, which being an open town on the land-side, was entered without opposition. A neglected mole was demolished; a contribution of three thousand pounds was levied upon the inhabitants; and twenty-one pieces of cannon were carried off in triumph, and pompously exhibited to the view of the English populace, as the spoils of France. After they had been shewn in Hyde-Park to gaping multitudes, they were drawn through the principal streets of London with the greatest military parade, and formally lodged in the tower.

But the British ministry had soon reason to repent of this empty ovation, which flattered so highly the prejudices of the vulgar, and gratified, for a moment, the national passion for glory and conquest. While the people of England were exulting over the taking of a place less considerable than many of their own fishing-towns, the victorious battalions were exposed to the most imminent peril.

Having reimbarked the troops at Cherburg without molestation, the commander in chief, (for reasons best known to himself) made his second landing in the bay of St. Lunar, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, against which he seemed determined to hazard an attempt; though the town was now in a better state of defence than when an attack had been judged impracticable by the duke of Marlborough, and the number of the assailants much fewer!—General Bligh, accordingly, soon discovered his mistake. The design upon St. Malo was laid aside; but it was resolved to penetrate into the country,

country, and do something for the honour of the British arms, before the troops were put on board the transports.

In conformity with this resolution, the fleet which could not ride with safety in the bay of St. Lunar, quitted that station, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward; while the land-forces proceeded by Guildo, to the village of Matignon, where they dispersed a small body of French troops, and encamped within three miles of the transports, in order to prevent their retreat being cut off. Here the British commanders were informed, that the duke d'Aguillon, governor of Brittany, had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of their camp, at the head of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. A retreat was immediately judged necessary; but the measures of carrying it into execution were slow and injudicious. Instead of decamping in the night without noise, by which they might probably have reached the shore before the French had the least intelligence of their army being in motion, the drums were beat at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who instantly repeated the same signal; and, although the march was begun soon after, so many were the obstructions, that they did not reach the bay of St. Cas till nine o'clock. Six hours were spent in marching three miles; yet might the embarkation have been effected without loss, if it had been properly conducted. But in this, as in every thing else, the greatest blunders were committed.

The English commanders, filled with delusive confidence, seem to have flattered themselves that no Frenchman durst look an Englishman in the face. Hence, from the moment they had intelligence of the approach of the enemy, they appear to have been under the influence of fear or infatuation; like all men who have over-rated their own courage, or undervalued that of an antagonist. All the troops, however, were embarked before the French began to press hard upon them, except the grenadiers

nadiers and the first regiment of foot-guards, who had the honour of remaining longest on hostile ground. This gallant body, consisting of fifteen hundred men, attempted to form and face the greatly superior enemy. But their resolution failed them; they fell into confusion: they fled; and rushed into the sea, or were slaughtered on the beach. Of those who took refuge in the waves, a considerable number were saved by the boats of the fleet, and about four hundred of the fugitives were made prisoners. Among the killed and drowned were general Drury and sir John Armitage, with many other gentlemen of rank and fortune, who had acted as volunteers: and with them perished near a thousand of the finest troops in Christendom³⁰.

Such was the unfortunate issue of our ill-concerted expeditions to the coast of France, which involved the nation in an enormous expense, without being attended with any adequate advantage³¹. They contributed, however, for a time, to rouse the spirit of the people, and to encourage the passion for enterprise; but as neither their success nor their objects corresponded with the hopes which such vast preparations raised, they had finally a contrary effect. The people, though subject to delusion, are not utterly blind. They saw the disproportion between means and ends, between great armaments and petty aims. And the disaster at St. Cas, which was the more keenly felt as it was altogether unexpected, and immediately followed the rejoicings for the taking of Cherburg, dissipated all our romantic ideas of acquiring conquests in France, or annihilating the French navy by destroying their principal sea-ports; while it exalted beyond measure the spirit of that volatile nation, which had been depressed and mortified by the insulting descents made upon their coasts with impunity. They now

30. *London Gazette*, September 18, 1758.

31. "Could we have burnt the enemy's docks, stores, &c. at Brest and Rochfort, (says general Lloyd,) it would have been a service of great importance, and worth trying; but no other object was by any means equal to the risk or the expense." *History of the War in Germany*, vol. ii. p. 120.

magnified into a mighty victory their accidental good fortune in cutting off the rear-guard of a misguided party of desultory invaders.

But whatever consolation France might derive from the check which had been given to the ravagers of her coasts, the solid advantages acquired by the English in other quarters of the globe, afforded them abundant cause of triumph, exclusive of such fugitive conquests. In North-America, whence we had hitherto received only accounts of delay, disaster, and disgrace, our affairs had taken a new and highly favourable turn.

As Lord Loudon had returned to England on account of some dissatisfactions in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie; but the plan of operations being extensive, the forces were divided into three separate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand men, under major-general Amherst, were destined for the siege of Louisbourg; near sixteen thousand, under Abercrombie in person, were reserved for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; and eight thousand, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes, were ordered to attack fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Cape-Breton, being an object of prime concern, it was undertaken with all possible dispatch. The army under general Amherst, augmented with two thousand fresh troops from England, embarked at Halifax on the 24th of May, and on the second of June, the fleet and transports, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, under the direction of admiral Boscawen, arrived before Louisbourg. The garrison of the place, commanded by the chevalier de Drucourt, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and about six hundred militia. The harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the bason. It was therefore necessary to disembark the troops at some distance from the town.

town. The place chosen for that purpose was the creek of Cormoran; and as soon as the landing, which was attended with some difficulty but little loss, was fully effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, the town was formally invested³².

The first thing attempted by the besiegers, was to secure a post called the *light-house battery*. That service was performed by general Wolfe, with all the vigour and celerity for which he was so much distinguished. On this elevated point were erected several batteries, which played upon the ships and the fortifications on the opposite side of the harbour. For six weeks, however, did the place hold out, and the French ships continued to fire upon the besiegers, and to obstruct their operations. At length, on the 21st of July, one of the great ships blew up, and the flames being communicated to two others, they also shared the same fate.

As the enemy, notwithstanding this misfortune, still refused to surrender, the English admiral (who during the whole siege had done every thing possible to second the efforts of the land-forces) sent into the harbour a detachment of six hundred seamen in boats, headed by the captians Laforey and Balfour. They boarded the two remaining ships of the line, which still kept possession of the bason; destroyed one which was aground, and towed off the other in triumph. The blow was decisive. The governor fearing a general assault, as several practicable breaches were made in the works, surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war: and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty³³. With Cape-Breton fell also the island of St. John, and whatever inferior stations the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the gulf of St. Lawrence.

The reduction of Louisbourg was severely felt by France, especially as it had been attended with the loss of so considerable a naval force, and occasioned the

32. London Gazette, August 18, 1758. Knox's *Campaigns in North America*, vol. I.

33. *Id. ibid.*

greatest rejoicings in England. But all our enterprises in America were not equally fortunate.

General Abercrombie, in consequence of his design of driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, had embarked upon lake George, on the fifth of July, with near sixteen thousand men, and a numerous train of artillery; and, after a prosperous navigation, landed his troops without opposition, and advanced in four columns toward the first object of his armament. As the country through which his march lay is rough and woody, and his guides were very unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While in this disorder, they fell in with a French detachment, which had fled on their approach, being bewildered in like manner. A skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were quickly routed, with the loss of near three hundred men. But that advantage was unfortunately purchased with the death of the gallant Lord Howe; a young nobleman of the most promising military talents, who had acquired the esteem and affection of the troops by his generosity, affability, and engaging manners, as well as by his distinguished valour.

This disaster excepted, the English army proceeded successfully till it reached Ticonderoga; which is situated on a point of land between lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with lake Champlain. On three sides surrounded with water, and on the fourth secured by a morass, that important post was strongly fortified, and defended by near five thousand men. These were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an abattis, or breast-work formed of the trunks of trees piled one upon another. And they were farther defended by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of which were cut and sharpened, so as to answer the purpose of *chevaux de frise*.

Notwithstanding this strong position, which had not been properly reconnoitred, it was rashly resolved to attack the enemy, without waiting for the arrival of the artillery.

artillery. A disposition was accordingly made for the purpose, and the whole English army put in motion. The troops advanced to the assault with the greatest alacrity; but all their most vigorous efforts proved ineffectual. In vain did they attempt to cut their way through every obstacle. They could make no impression upon the enemy's works. The general, therefore, found it necessary to order a retreat, as the only means of saving the remains of his army, after it had been exposed for four hours to the covered fire of the French musquetry. Near two thousand men, including a great number of officers, were killed or dangerously wounded³⁴.

In order to repair the disgrace of this bloody repulse, general Abercrombie (who had immediately retired to his former camp on the southern side of lake George) detached colonel Bradstreet with a body of three thousand men against fort Frontenac. The colonel, who with great prudence and valour surmounted every difficulty, brought his little army to Oswego, where he embarked on lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprise by the 25th of August.

Fort Frontenac stands at the communication of lake Ontario with the river St. Lawrence, the entrance into which it in some measure commands. For a post of such moment, however, it was poorly fortified and feebly garrisoned. It surrendered at discretion, on the appearance of the English commander, who found there an immense quantity of provisions and merchandise, sixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed sloops³⁵.

The success of colonel Bradstreet, in all probability, facilitated the expedition, under general Forbes, against fort du Quesne. This officer began his march from Philadelphia, in the beginning of July, at the head of eight thousand men, through a vast tract of country very little known, and almost impenetrable, by reason of

34. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. *Lond. Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1758.

35. *Lond. Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1758.

woods, mountains, and morasses. He made his way, however, by the most incredible exertions of vigour and perseverance; procured provisions, secured camps, and surmounted every other difficulty in his tedious progress, though continually harassed by parties of hostile Indians.

Having advanced with the main body of his army as far as Ray's-Town, distant about four-score miles from fort du Quesne, general Forbes detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the place. Unfortunately, the major's approach was discovered by the enemy, who sent a more numerous body of troops against him. A desperate combat ensued, which was gallantly maintained by the British detachment for more than three hours; but being at length overpowered by superior force, it was obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or made prisoners, and among the latter was major Grant, with nineteen other officers.

This severe check, so fatal to the reconnoitring party, did not prevent general Forbes from advancing with the main body of his army, though ignorant of the enemy's numbers. Regardless of danger, he only longed for an opportunity of retaliation. The French, however, dreading the prospect of a siege, deprived him of the pleasure of revenge, by abandoning the disputed post, on the twenty-fourth of November. They retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi³⁶. The British standard was erected on fort du Quesne, which had been the cause of so general and so destructive a war; and the name of Fort-Pitt was given to it, in honour of the minister under whose auspices the expedition had been undertaken.

Nor were the conquests of Great-Britain confined solely to North-America. Two ships of the line, with some frigates and a body of marines, had been dispatched early in the season, in order to reduce the French settle-

36. *Lond. Gazette* Jan. 20, 1759.

ments on the coast of Africa. They accordingly entered the river Senegal; and in spite of the obstructions of a dangerous bar, which the ships of the line could not pass, they obliged fort Louis, which commands the navigation of the Senegal, to surrender, and, with it, all the French settlements on that river³⁷.

But this squadron being found insufficient to reduce the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues, on the same coast, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was afterward sent upon that service, with four ships of the line, several frigates, and seven hundred regular troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Worge. The great ships laid their broadsides to the principal batteries, and maintained so strong a fire, that the place surrendered DEC. 19. at discretion, before the troops were landed³⁸. M. St. Jean, the French governor, behaved with true courage, but was ill supported by his garrison.

The British arms were less successful during this campaign in the East Indies. Though admiral Pococke, who had succeeded, in consequence of the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel, had worsted, in two obstinate engagements, the French squadron under M. d'Aché, he was not able to prevent the loss of Cudalore and fort St. David. These, two places were reduced by the count de Lally; who having been appointed governor-general of all the French possessions in India, had carried out with him a great force to Pondicherry. He was gallantly assisted in his military operations by the count d'Estaing, and flattered himself with nothing less than the conquest of all the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel.

Such, my dear Philip, was the state of the war in all parts of the world, at the close of the year 1758. Many checks had been given, many victories obtained, and

³⁷ Lon. Gazette, June 10, 1758. ³⁸ Lon. Gazette, Jan. 29, 1759.

many conquests made; but these were not all on one side. The success was divided. All parties had cause of hope, or room for consolation; and, in consequence of this situation of affairs, all parties prepared for opening the ensuing campaign with equal vigour, though the state of their finances was very different. The resources of England being still great, she generously continued her annual subsidy of four millions of dollars to the king of Prussia. Those of Austria were much exhausted, and France was on the eve of a national bankruptcy; yet were the efforts of both undiminished. The empress of Russia, having lost only men, readily supplied by her boundless dominions, adhered to her military system, which she considered as necessary to the training of her armies: and Sweden made no advances toward peace. The greatest exertions were displayed in every quarter of the globe.

Germany however continued, as hitherto, to be the grand theatre of military operations, though less of conquest or bold enterprise. These found elsewhere a wider range. Repeated trials of each other's strength had here made all parties more cautious; because all were become sensible, that the war could only be brought to a successful issue by patience and perseverance, not by any single blow. The greatest blows had been already struck, yet peace seemed as distant as ever; though, in striking some of those blows, ruin itself had been hazarded by the illustrious Frederic. Less dependence was henceforth placed in fortune, and more in force and skill. Experience had moderated the ardour of courage, and rectified the mistaken conceptions of military superiority. Firmness and recollection took place of presumption and rashness; and mutual esteem and apprehensions of danger, of self-confidence and mutual contempt.

The fire of the king of Prussia's genius alone seemed unabated. We have seen in what manner he obliged the Austrians and the army of the empire to evacuate Saxony, at the close of the last campaign, while his generals

nerals forced the Russians and Swedes to retire toward their own frontiers. He began the present with equal vigour and success: and he had formed a great system of operations, in concert with prince Ferdinand ^{A. D. 1759.} of Brunswick. One of his generals, in the month of February, destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland; another recovered Anclam, Demin, and all the places the Swedes had conquered in Pomerania. He himself, by his threatening motions, drew the Austrian army to the frontiers of Silesia. His brother, prince Henry, who had wintered in Saxony, seized that opportunity to lay Bohemia under contribution; and, afterward, entering Franconia, pushed the army of the empire as far back as Nuremburg.

To this degree were the arms of the king of Prussia successful. But certain unforeseen events, partly depending upon himself, partly upon others, disconcerted all his future plans, and gave a fatal reverse to his affairs. The Russians advanced toward Silesia, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines. And prince Ferdinand, although early reinforced with a choice body of British troops, found himself unable to prevent the army of the empire from receiving succours from that of France; a circumstance on which the success of the campaign greatly depended, and on which his Prussian majesty had presumed, though certainly without due consideration.

The French, by a flagrant violation of the liberties of the empire, accompanied with an act of perfidy, had made themselves masters of Frankfort upon the Maine, a neutral and free city, in the beginning of January. This was an important acquisition, as it secured to them the course of the Maine and the Upper-Rhine, by which they could readily receive every kind of supply. It was therefore determined to dislodge them, if possible, as soon as the season would permit the allied army to take the field.

With this view, prince Ferdinand assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda, and began his march toward the enemy, at the head of thirty thousand men ;

having left the rest of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the bishoprick of Munster. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglio, strongly posted near the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau, yet did he resolve to attack them. He accordingly drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But after three desperate efforts to get possession of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loss of two thousand men². He preserved, however, so good a countenance that the enemy did not attempt to pursue him.

The allies perhaps lost no honour by this action. But they failed in their object; and that failure, beside thwarting the designs of the king of Prussia, reduced themselves to great distress for want of provisions. Meanwhile the French enjoyed plenty of every thing. And their armies on the Upper and Lower-Rhine having formed a junction near Marburg, proceeded northward, under the mareschal de Contades, who fixed his headquarters at Corbach, whence he detached a body of light troops to take possession of Cassel.

Finding himself inferior to the united forces of the enemy, prince Ferdinand judged it prudent to retire as they advanced. He left strong garrisons, however, in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden, in order to retard the progress of the French generals. But this precaution proved ineffectual. Retberg was surprised by the duke de Broglio. He also took Minden by assault; and Munster, though defended by a garrison of four thousand men, was reduced, after a short siege.

It now appeared impossible to prevent the French from making themselves a second time masters of his Britannic majesty's German dominions. Considering the conquest of Hanover as certain, the court of Versailles was only occupied in contriving expedients for

securing it; and the regency of that electorate, willing to provide against the consequences of such a probable event, again sent their archives and most valuable effects to Stade. All things seemed hastening to the same situation, which brought on the humiliating convention of Closter-seven; especially as prince Ferdinand continued to retire, and studiously kept up his communication with the Weser.

But that accomplished general, though weakened by his losses, was not disconcerted. He saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. Although naturally cautious, he resolved, under the pressure of necessity, to pursue a bold line of conduct, instead of taking refuge in despair, or seeking an apology for misfortune in the gloom of public despondency. The moment he found nothing but a battle could hinder the French from taking up their winter-quarters in the electorate of Hanover, he determined to bring matters to that issue. And the means by which he accomplished his design with an inferior army, without exposing himself to any disaster, discovered so profound a genius for war, as will ever make him be ranked among the greatest masters of the military art.

The main body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, to which its right wing extended. On the left was a steep hill, in the front a morass, and a rivulet covered the rear. As nothing could be more advantageous than this position, which rendered an attack impracticable, prince Ferdinand employed all his skill to draw the enemy from it. With that view he quitted his camp on the Weser, and marched to Hille; leaving, however, general Wangenheim, with a body of troops, entrenched at Thornhausen, on the banks of the disputed river: and detaching the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with six thousand men, to make a compass toward the enemy's left flank, and cut off their communication with Paderborn.

The

The French generals, who were not inattentive to these movements, fell into the snare that was laid for them. They concluded, that the opportunity which they had so long sought, of cutting off prince Ferdinand's communication with the Weser, was at last found, and with it the consummation of their wishes. They saw, as they imagined, the allied army divided and disjoined beyond the possibility of immediate union; and therefore flattered themselves with its final destruction, by the defeat of general Wangenheim, and the command of the Weser, the necessary consequence of such defeat. Full of this idea, they left their advantageous post; and passing the morass in their front, advanced into the plain.

The duke de Broglio, who led the van of the French army, proceeded with great confidence, until he reached
AUG. 1. a neighbouring eminence; whence he beheld, instead of entrenchments defended by a small body, the whole army of the allies disposed in excellent order, and extending from the banks of the Weser almost to Minden. A discovery so unexpected embarrassed the French general. But he had no alternative left: it was too late to recede. He therefore ordered his cavalry to advance, and begin the engagement.

The British infantry, which, with two battalions of Hanoverian guards, composed the centre of the allied army, sustained the principal shock of the battle, and broke every body of horse and foot that advanced against them, whilst the Hessian cavalry, with some regiments of Prussian and Hanoverian dragoons, posted on the left, baffled all the attempts of the enemy, and pushed them to the necessity of seeking safety in flight⁴⁰.

At this instant, prince Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British and Hanoverian horse, which composed the right wing of

⁴⁰. London and Paris Gazettes, *passim*. The French account of this battle, and of the operations that preceded it, is by far the most perfect.

the allies to advance to the charge. And if these orders had been cheerfully obeyed, the battle of Minden would probably have been as memorable and decisive as that of Blenheim. The French army would have been utterly destroyed, or totally routed and driven out of Germany. But whatever was the cause, whether the orders were not sufficiently precise, were misinterpreted, or imperfectly understood, the British cavalry did not arrive in time to have any share in the engagement⁴¹; so that the French, instead of being hotly pursued, were permitted to retire in good order, and to regain their former position, notwithstanding the loss of seven thousand men. They judged it necessary, however, to quit their camp, and pass the Weser the same night; and next day the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion. The allies lost in the action near two thousand brave troops.

Prince Ferdinand passed an indirect censure upon the British commander for his conduct on this occasion, and a court-martial confirmed that censure. But as the whole weight of ministerial influence is supposed to have been thrown into the scale of the German general, the impartial part of mankind are still divided in their opinion on the subject, and will, likely, long remain so. It may not, however, be improper to observe, for the information of posterity, that the two generals were by no means on good terms with each other, before the battle. Prince Ferdinand, who understood the *mystery*, as well as the *art* of war, and pursued it as a *lucrative trade*, felt himself uneasy under the eye of an observer so keen and penetrating as lord George Sackville, and wished to remove him from the command. This wish perhaps occasioned that confusion, or contradiction of orders, of which the English general complained, and which he assigned as the cause of his inaction. But there is also reason to suppose, the chagrin of the British commander might make his perception, on that occasion, less clear

⁴¹. Evidence produced on the trial of lord George Sackville.

than usual, and that he might even secretly indulge a desire to obscure the glory of a hated rival, without reflecting that, in so doing, he was sacrificing his duty to his sovereign, and eventually the interests of his country⁴².

LETTER XXXIV.

THE VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE, AND THE HISTORY OF
THE GENERAL WAR, PURSUED, FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE
FRENCH AT MINDEN, TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

THE victory gained by the allies at Minden, though less complete than it might have been rendered by the ready co-operation of the British general, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion, and blasted all their hopes of conquest. It not only enabled prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster, and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. And if he had not been obliged to weaken his army, in order to support the king of Prussia, whose affairs were much embarrassed, he would probably have driven the vain-glorious enemy to the other side of the Rhine, before the close of the campaign.

The embarrassment of his Prussian majesty was chiefly occasioned by the approach of the Russians, in spite of every effort to obstruct their progress. Displeased with the studied caution of count Dohna, the king conferred the command of the army destined to oppose them on general Wedel, who immediately gave them battle, conformable to his orders. He attacked them

42. See prince Ferdinand's *Letter* to the king of Great-Britain, and lord George Sackville's *vindication* of his conduct.

with great vigour, but without effect, at Kay, near Zulli-
chan, in Silesia, on the twenty-third day of July. The
Prussians were repulsed with much loss, after an obsti-
nate engagement, and the Russians made themselves
masters of Frankfort on the Oder.

No sooner was the king of Prussia informed of that
misfortune, than he resolved to oppose the Russians in
person; and began his march with ten thousand of his
best troops, to join the shattered army under Wedel;
leaving his brother Henry to observe the motions of the
Austrians on the frontiers of Lusatia. Meanwhile
mareschal Daun, apprised of the king's intention, de-
tached general Laudohn, with twelve thousand horse, to
give vigour and stability to the Russian army, which
was deficient in cavalry.

The reinforcement arrived nearly at the same time
that his Prussian majesty joined Wedel. And Laudohn
and count Soltikow, the Russian general, took post at
the village of Cunnersdorff, opposite Frankfort. The
combined army consisted of about one hundred thou-
sand combatants: their position was naturally strong;
and they farther secured their camp by entrenchments,
planted with a numerous train of artillery. The king
of Prussia's forces, after all the reinforcements he could
collect, fell below fifty thousand men; yet did his press-
ing circumstances, and his own sanguine spirit, inflamed
by hostile passion, induce him to hazard an attack.

The previous dispositions for that purpose being made,
the action began about eleven o'clock, and the
Russian entrenchments were forced with great AUG. 12.
slaughter. Several redoubts, which covered the village
of Cunnersdorff, also were mastered, and the Prussians
advanced to the village itself. Here the battle was re-
newed, and raged with fresh fury for two hours. At
length the post was carried; the enemy's artillery was
taken; and every thing seemed to promise a complete
victory. But the Russians, though broken, were not
discouraged. They again formed under cover of the
Austrian cavalry, and took possession of an eminence,
called

called the *Jews' burying ground*, where they resolved to defend themselves to the last man.

Prudence, and past experience of the steady valour of the Russians, ought to have taught his Prussian majesty to rest satisfied with the advantage he had gained: but he could not bear to be a conqueror by halves. The ardour of his mind determined him to follow his blow, in hopes of crowning at once his glory and his vengeance, by the final destruction of a barbarous enemy, who had dared to enter within the line of his ambition; and whose cruel ravages had so often drawn him from the pursuit of victory, or obstructed the career of conquest. He accordingly led on, to a new attack, his brave battalions, yet faint from recent toil, beneath the heat of a burning sun, and sore with many a wound. He led them against the main body of the Russian army, the greater part of which had not hitherto been engaged, posted on higher ground, and strongly defended by artillery. They were unequal to the difficult service: they fell back; they were again brought to the charge, and a second time repulsed with great slaughter. Enraged at this disappointment, the king put himself at the head of his cavalry; but their vigour also was spent. In vain did he attempt to break the Russians (who are possessed of uncommon bodily strength, and an instinctive or mechanical courage, which makes them inaccessible to fear:) they baffled all his gallant efforts. Their fire was the mouth of a volcano, and their bayonets a hedge of spears. The Prussians, wasted with fatigue, and startled at the number of the slain, blamed the perseverance of their prince, but still maintained the unequal combat.

In those awful moments, when the finest troops in the world were wavering, and the greatest of modern commanders could with difficulty encourage them to keep their ground, the Austrian cavalry, yet fresh, broke in upon them with the impetuosity of a torrent. The Russian horse followed the animating example, and the foot resumed their activity. The exhausted Prussians yielded

yielded to the irresistible shock: they were seized with panic; they fled. The king rallied them: he brought them back to the charge; he set them an example of bravery in his own person. Three times did he renew the engagement in the front line. He had two horses shot under him, and many bullets had passed through his clothes. But all his intrepid exertions were ineffectual: the battle was irretrievably lost, and the approach of night only prevented the Prussian army from being utterly cut off. As the struggle terminated, the slaughter on both sides was awfully great. Near thirty thousand men lay dead on the field, or dying of their wounds: and sixteen thousand of these were Prussians¹.

The issue of this battle astonished all Europe; and occasioned the most extravagant exultation among the hostile powers on one side, and the greatest depression of mind on the other. When the king of Prussia got possession of the village of Cunnersdorff, he wrote in the triumph of his heart, a congratulatory billet to his queen, without waiting for the final event: "We have driven the Russians from their entrenchments. Expect within two hours, to hear of a glorious victory!"—And as this billet arrived at Berlin just as the post was going out, the premature intelligence reached the courts of London and Versailles before the news of the king's disaster, also first conveyed in another laconic dispatch to the queen: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy²."

But if his Prussian majesty subjected himself to some degree of ridicule as a man, and blame as a commander, by his defeat at Cunnersdorff, his subsequent conduct wiped all off. And the surprise of mankind, at his sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, was soon lost in their admiration of the wonderful resources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his

1. Compared *Relations* of the battle of Cunnersdorff, published by authority at Berlin and Vienna.

2. *Foreign Gazettes*, passim.

spirit. The day after the battle, he repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin; whence he removed to Fustenwalde, and posted himself so advantageously, that the Russians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. He even watched their motions so assiduously, that the main body of their army, under the victorious Soltikow, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia. There he joined the grand Austrain army, under mareschal Daun; and the two generals held consultations concerning their future operations.

In the meantime the king of Prussia, having refreshed and recruited his broken and exhausted troops, and supplied the loss of his artillery, (which had all fallen into the hands of the enemy) from the arsenal at Berlin, appeared again formidable. While his friends as well as his enemies were of opinion, that the Russian and Austrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they chose first to subdue as a prelude to the conquest of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defensive. And he at the same time detached a body of six thousand men, under general Wunch, to the relief of Saxony; where the army of the empire had made great progress, during his absence. Hall, Wittemberg, Leipsic, Torgau, and even Dresden itself, had surrendered to the Imperialists. But the detachment under Wunch retook Leipsic on the 21st of
 SEPT. 21. September; and having joined general Finck who commanded in Saxony, the Prussian generals repulsed the army of the empire at Corbitz, though supported by a body of Austrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dresden.

Encouraged by these successes, and seeing that he could not second the operations of the king on the side of Silesia, prince Henry quitted his camp at Hornsdorff near Gorlitz, in Lusatia, and marched with incredible celerity into Saxony, where he joined the Prussian parties under Finck and Wunch. This rapid march obliged
 mareschal

mareschal Daun also to quit his camp in Lusatia, and to separate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dresden. And the Prussian monarch, thus freed from the presence of his most dangerous enemy, having put himself between the Russians and Great-Glogaw, obliged them to relinquish an enterprise which they had formed against that place, and return into Poland.

Fortune, in a word, seemed yet to be preparing triumphs for the intrepid Frederic, after all his disasters; and if he had placed less confidence in her flattering promises, which he had so frequently found to be delusive, he might have closed the campaign with equal glory and success. But his enterprising spirit induced him once more to trust the deceiver, and attempt a great line of action, while prudence, reason, experience, and even self-preservation, dictated a sure one.

No sooner did his Prussian majesty find himself disengaged, in consequence of the retreat of the Russians, than he marched into Saxony; and there joined his brother Henry, near Torgau, on the second of November, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian generals. On this junction, the army of the empire retired. Mareschal Daun, who had threatened prince Henry, fell back upon Dresden. And the king of Prussia saw himself, once more, at the head of a gallant army of sixty thousand men, in high spirits, and still ready to execute any bold enterprise, under the eye of their sovereign and commander, so lately reduced to the brink of despair. But as the season was already far in the decline, and remarkably severe, his most able generals were of opinion that no important enterprise could be undertaken with any probability of success, and that his wisest conduct would be to watch the motions of the Austrians, and cut off the provisions of mareschal Daun; who must, by these means, infallibly be obliged to abandon Dresden, and retire into Bohemia, leaving to the Prussians, as hitherto, the entire possession of Saxony.

The

The king's views, however, extended to greater and more decisive advantages. He knew that the passes into Bohemia were so difficult, that, by seizing certain posts, the subsistence of the Austrians might not only be cut off, but their retreat rendered impracticable. Having obliged mareschal Daun to retreat as far as Plawen, and advanced himself to Kesseldorf, he accordingly ordered general Finck, with nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons to occupy the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff, through which alone he thought it possible for the enemy to communicate with Bohemia. This service was successfully executed; and no doubt was entertained that mareschal Daun would be obliged to hazard a battle, or to surrender at discretion, as he seemed now to have no resource left but in victory.

Meanwhile that sagacious general, sensible of his danger, sent experienced officers to reconnoitre the position of the Prussian detachment; and finding the commander lulled into the most fatal security, he took possession of the neighbouring eminences, and surrounding the enemy on all sides, precluded the possibility of escape. The Prussians defended themselves gallantly for one day, and made several vigorous efforts to disentangle themselves from the net in which they were caught, but in vain: they were foiled in every attempt to force those defiles which they had been appointed to guard. Night put an end to the struggle, and to the effusion of blood.

NOV. 16. Next morning general Finck, seeing his situation desperate, as every avenue through which a retreat could be made was planted with bayonets, judged it more prudent to submit to necessity, than wantonly to throw away the lives of so many brave men, who might serve their king on some more promising occasion. He therefore endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms. They were sternly denied him. And he was ultimately forced to surrender at discretion, on the 26th of November; he himself with eight other generals, and near twenty thousand men, being made prisoners of war³.

³ Compared *relations*, ubi sup.

This

This was a mortifying blow to the hopes of the Prussian monarch, and must have made him severely sensible of his too common error, in placing all his attention on the possible advantage, and overlooking the probable danger. Nor did that evil come alone. He sustained another heavy stroke in the capture and destruction of a rear guard, consisting of three thousand men, under general Diercke. Yet, after all these losses, he was still so formidable, that the cautious and moderate-minded Daun, instead of attacking him, took shelter in the strong camp of Pirna, and kept close within his entrenchments.

His Prussian majesty seemed also, at last, to have acquired a lesson of moderation. Though joined by twelve thousand men, under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, he put his army quickly into winter-quarters at Freyberg, without attempting any new enterprise; so that, the loss of men excepted, affairs in Germany were nearly in the same situation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been desolated, and much blood spilt; but Dresden was the only place of any importance that had changed masters.

In spite of all the eloquence and popularity of Mr. Pitt, so many indecisive campaigns began to cool the zeal of the English nation in the cause of their illustrious but burdensome ally, the king of Prussia, to whose wars they could see no end. And the success of the British arms in America and the West Indies, opened the eyes of the people more fully to their true interests, and made them sensible of the folly of defending the electorate of Hanover at such a vast expense of blood and treasure.

Immediately after the taking of Louisbourg, which had long been considered as the key of Canada, a plan was formed by the British ministry for the reduction of Quebec, and the entire conquest of New-France, as soon as the season of action, in those northern latitudes, should return. In the meantime an expedition was undertaken
against

against the island of Martinico, the chief seat of the French government in the West Indies; a place of great importance by its position, and also by its produce.

It was known that Martinico, and all the sugar-islands belonging to France in the American Archipelago, were in great distress for want of provisions and other necessities; which it was not in her power to provide them with, by reason of the inferiority of her navy to that of England, and consequently her inability to protect her trade with them. It was therefore supposed they could make but a feeble resistance, and would surrender on the first summons.

The armament destined for that service, consisted of ten ships of the line, under commodore More, and five thousand land-forces, commanded by general Hopson. The design upon Martinico, however, was abandoned as impracticable, after a slight attempt; though seemingly with little reason, as the French governor possessed neither courage nor conduct, and the distressed inhabitants appeared willing, it was said, to submit to a power that could more readily supply their wants, and afford them a better and more certain market for their produce. But be the prospect of resistance small or great, it is certain that the British troops were re-embarked within twenty-four hours after their landing, and that the armament directed its course toward the island of Guadaloupe⁴; a less splendid object of conquest, though not a less valuable possession.

The British fleet appeared before the town of Basse-Terre, the capital of the island, on the twenty-third of January; and next day it was taken, after a terrible cannonade, accompanied with incessant showers of bombs. Never did the commanders of the English navy exert themselves with more intrepidity and judgment than on

4. Lond. Gazette, March 7, 1759. See also capt. Gardner's *Account of the Expedition against Martinico and Guadaloupe*.

this occasion. They left the land forces nothing to do but take possession of the place, which was abandoned by the garrison⁵.

The reduction of the town of Basse-Terre, however, was not immediately followed by the conquest of Guadeloupe. The slowness, timidity, and irresolution of the operations by land, afforded the fugitive garrison leisure for recollection; and to fortify themselves, by the help of the inhabitants, in a strong post, which obstructed all communication with the more fertile parts of the island. Despairing therefore of being able to subject Guadeloupe on that side, the invaders proceeded to attack it on another, known by the name of Grand-Terre. Fort Lewis, the chief defence of this division of the island, (which is separated from the other by a shallow strait) was taken, sword in hand, by the marines and royal Highlanders, after a short but vigorous cannonade from the fleet⁶.

But the conquerors were guilty of the same error as formerly. They did not take advantage of the enemy's terror: and they suffered the same inconveniences from their neglect. The fugitives found refuge in the mountains, where they became formidable; and the event of the expedition was even doubtful, when general Barrington, having succeeded to the command of the land-forces, in consequence of the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. Instead of attempting to penetrate into the country, which abounds with strong posts and dangerous defiles, he re-embarked the troops, and successively attacked the towns and villages upon the coast. By this mode of making war, every considerable place was soon reduced; and the governor and inhabitants, tired of their uncomfortable situation in the mountains, and seeing no prospect of relief, surrendered the island to his Britannic majesty. Mariagalante, and some other small islands in the neighbourhood, also submitted. And the inhabitants obtained the same terms with those of Guadeloupe;

5. Id. *ibid*.6. Capt. Gardner, *ubi sup*.

namely,

namely, the undisturbed possession of their private property, and the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges⁷.

This moderation was equally generous and political, and may be supposed to have had a serious influence upon the minds of the French colonists, even in North-America; where the campaign was not yet begun, and where the plan of operations was as extensive as their objects were great. It was concerted to attack the French at all their strong holds at once: that general Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, with a body of eight thousand men, and a stout fleet from England, and besiege the city of Quebec; that general Amherst, now commander in chief of the British forces in North-America, should, with an army of twelve thousand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, cross lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the way of Richelieu river to the banks of the St. Lawrence, join general Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; and that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third army, reinforced by a body of provincials and friendly Indians, under sir William Johnson, should invest the important fortress of Niagara, which in a manner commands the interior parts of the northern division of the new world. It was farther proposed, that the troops under brigadier Prideaux, after the reduction of Niagara, should embark on lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, besiege and take Montreal, and then join or co-operate with the combined army, under Amherst and Wolfe.

A bolder system of war, it is owned, was never framed; but many doubts have been started in regard to its natural practicability, founded on the strength of the places to be attacked, the extent of the operations, and the disposition of the French forces. The marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New-France, lay in the neighbour-

7. *Lond. Gazette*, June 14, 1759.

hood of Montreal, with a body of five thousand veteran troops; while the marquis de Montcalm, his lieutenant-general, whose reputation was already high in the military world, took the field with an army of ten thousand Europeans and Canadians, for the defence of the capital; and M. de Levi, an active officer, was at the head of a flying detachment, which, as well as the army under Montcalm, was strengthened by a large body of trained Indians, intimately acquainted with all the woods and defiles. The garrison of Niagara consisted of at least six hundred men; Ticonderoga and Crown-Point were in a respectable condition; and the city of Quebec, naturally strong from its situation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garrison, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it. All these obstacles, however, were surmounted, though not immediately, by a happy mixture of conduct and valour; the wonderful effects of which ignorant and credulous men ascribe to supernatural influence, and dull and timid men to chance.

The army under Amherst, by the progress of which the operations of the other two were supposed to be in some measure governed, was early in motion. But the season was far advanced before the general could pass lake George. He thence proceeded, with little opposition from the enemy, to Ticonderoga, so fatal to the British troops in the former campaign. The French seemed at first determined to defend the fort. But perceiving the English commander resolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the siege, and having, beside, orders to retreat from place to place JULY 7. toward the centre of operations, rather than run the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they abandoned the works in the night, and retired to Crown-Point.

To Crown-Point Amherst advanced, after repairing the fortifications of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had damaged. But before his arrival, the garrison had retired to Isle Aux Noix, at the lower end of lake Champlain. There the French had three thousand five

hundred men, he was informed, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, with a numerous train of artillery, and that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels. With a sloop and a radeau, which he had built with all possible dispatch, he destroyed two of the enemy's vessels. But the declining season obliged him to postpone farther operations, and return to Crown-Point, where the troops were put into winter quarters about the end of October.

General Amherst now saw himself in a very awkward situation for a commander in chief. Though his success was great, he had found it impossible to attain the prime object of his enterprise; a junction with general Wolfe, which was considered as essential to the fortunate issue of the campaign. And what was yet more disagreeable, he had not, during the whole summer, obtained the least intelligence of the condition of that commander, on the operations of whose slender and unsupported army so much depended; a few obscure and alarming hints excepted, of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where he was in danger of being crushed by the whole force of Canada, under the marquis de Montcalm. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara. Having received an account of the progress of it before he left Ticonderoga, he had detached brigadier-general Gage to assume the command of the troops in the room of general Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn, while directing the operations against the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least molestation.

Meanwhile the command of that expedition devolved upon sir William Johnson; who prosecuted with equal judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor. He pushed the attack of Niagara with such intrepidity, that

3. *Letter from general Amherst to Mr. secretary Pitt, in Lond. Gazette, Nov. 27, 1759.* Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. i. ii.

the besiegers soon brought their approaches within an hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this interior key of their empire in America, the French collected a large body of regular troops, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, Detroit, Venango, and Presque-Isle, in order to raise the siege. With these, and a party of savages, they accordingly resolved to attempt the relief of the place, and put themselves in motion for that purpose. Apprised of their intention, general Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress. He posted the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and while he thus prepared himself for an engagement, he took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

The enemy appeared about nine o'clock in the morning, and the battle was begun with a horrid scream from the hostile Indians, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the *Warrchopp*, JULY 24. the most frightful sound which imagination can conceive, that had struck a panic into the army under Braddock, and had on other occasions carried terror to the hearts of European soldiers. But having now lost its effect upon the British troops, it was heard with a contemptuous indifference. And the French regulars were so warmly received by the English grenadiers and light infantry, while their savages were encountered by other savages, that they were totally routed in less than an hour, and the place surrendered the same day.

The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and consequently was a great step toward the conquest of both. But the reduction of Quebec was a still more important object; and if general Amherst had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, it would have been attended with equal certainty, as a proportional force would have been employed to accomplish it.

As events happened, the issue of this grand enterprise seemed very doubtful. The land-forces did not exceed seven thousand men. They were, however, in good health and spirits. Having been embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, they were safely landed, toward the end of June, on the isle of Orleans, formed by two branches of the river St. Lawrence, a few leagues below the city of Quebec. There the soldiers and sailors found every refreshment; and there general Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadier-generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, published a spirited but somewhat romantic manifesto, vindicating the conduct of the king his master, in making this hostile invasion, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the entire possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion, provided they took no part in the dispute for dominion between the crowns of France and England. He represented to them the folly of resistance, as all hopes of relief were cut off, while the British fleet commanded not only the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, but the empire of the sea; and he reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French against the English subjects in America, would excuse the most severe retaliation. But Englishmen, he said, were too magnanimous to follow the barbarous example: and he concluded with extolling the generosity of Great-Britain, in thus stretching out to them a hand of humanity, when it was in her power to compel their obedience¹⁰.

As that manifesto produced no immediate effect, Wolfe was under the necessity of considering the Canadians as enemies, and saw himself exposed to all the difficulties of a general commanding an army in a country where every thing is hostile to him. These difficulties, on examination, appeared so great, that, although naturally of a sanguine temper and an adventurous spirit, he

10. Printed Manifesto.

began to despair of success before the commencement of operations. "I could not flatter myself," says he, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt, "that I should be able "to reduce the place." Nor is this to be wondered at. Beside the natural and artificial strength of the city of Quebec, which is chiefly built upon a steep rock on the northern bank of the river St. Lawrence, and farther defended by the river St. Charles, which places it in a kind of peninsula, Montcalm, the French general, was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood, with a force superior to the English army. To undertake the siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed contrary to all the established maxims of war.

Resolved, however, to make every possible exertion before he abandoned the enterprise committed to him by his sovereign, and the event of which was already determined in the fond imaginations of his admiring countrymen, Wolfe took possession of point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. But these batteries, by reason of their distance, made small impression upon the works, though they destroyed many houses, and greatly incommoded the inhabitants. The fleet could be of little use, as the elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond its reach, and even gave them a degree of command over it. The English general, therefore, became sensible of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect his batteries on the northern side of the river. But as this seemed a matter of infinite difficulty, his grand dilemma was, how to effect it?—Nor could all his penetration resolve the question.

The northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, for a considerable way above Quebec, is so bold and rocky, as to make it impracticable to land in the face of an enemy. Below the town, the French army was strongly encamped, between the rivers Montmorency and St. Charles. If the first river should be passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the second
would

would present a new, and almost insuperable barrier against the victors. With all these obstacles, Wolfe was well acquainted; but he also knew, to use his own heroic language, “that a victorious army finds no difficulties!” He therefore resolved to pass the river Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement.

In consequence of this resolution, part of the British army was landed at the mouth of that river, and the main body was ready to ford it higher up, when JULY 31. certain unpropitious circumstances made it necessary to withdraw the troops, and relinquish the design. General Wolfe’s original plan was, to attack first a detached redoubt close to the water’s edge, and apparently situated beyond reach of the fire from the enemy’s entrenchments. Should they attempt to support that fortification, he doubted not of being able to bring on a general action; and if they remained tame spectators of its fall, he could afterward coolly examine their situation, and regulate accordingly his future operations. But observing the enemy in some confusion, he rashly changed his purpose; and listening only to the ardour of his courage, determined immediately to attack the French camp.

With that view, orders were sent to the generals Townshend and Murray, to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river. Meantime, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, which had been first landed, and directed to form upon the beach, until they could be properly sustained, rushed impetuously toward the enemy’s entrenchments; as if, in their ungovernable fury, they could have borne down every thing before them. But they were met by so strong and steady a fire from the French musquetry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in or behind the detached redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned on their approach¹². There they continued for some time,

12. Letter from general Wolfe to Mr. secretary Pitt, in *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 1759.

before they could repass the river, exposed to a dreadful thunder-storm, and a more terrible storm of bullets, which proved fatal to many gallant officers, who fearlessly exposed their persons, in attempting to form the troops. And instead of lamenting this early failure, though occasioned by inexcusable precipitancy, and attended with the loss of near five hundred brave men, we ought rather to consider it as a fortunate event; for if the whole British army had been led on to the attack, there is reason to believe, from the strength of the French entrenchments, that the consequences would have been more fatal¹³.

Made sensible, by this mortifying check, and the information connected with it, of the impracticability of approaching Quebec, on the side of Montmorency, while the marquis de Montcalm chose to maintain his station, Wolfe detached general Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to destroy the French shipping, and otherwise to distress, and distract the enemy, by descents upon the banks of the river. In pursuance of these instructions, Murray made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore, but without success: in the third he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud, he burnt a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions. That was a service of considerable importance, though by no means adequate to his wishes. The French ships were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. He therefore re-
AUG. 25.
 turned to the British camp at the request of the commander in chief, in some measure disappointed, but with the consolatory intelligence, (received from his prisoners) "That Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga
 "and Crown-Point were abandoned; and that general

13. This is in some measure admitted by Wolfe himself. Id. *ibid*.

Amherst

“ Amherst was employed in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Isle Aux Noix.”

This intelligence, however, though agreeable in itself, afforded no prospect of any immediate assistance. The season wasted apace; and the fervid spirit of general Wolfe, which could not brook the most distant prospect of censure or disgrace, began to prey upon his naturally delicate constitution. Conscious that the conduct of no leader can ever be honoured with true applause, unless gilded with success, he dreaded alike to become the object of the pity or the scorn of his capricious countrymen. His own high notions of military glory, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted disappointment, and the fear of miscarriage, into a disease that threatened the dissolution of his tender frame. Though determined, as he declared in his disquiet, never to return to England without accomplishing his enterprise, he sent SEPT. 2. to the ministry a pathetic, and even desponding account of his situation, in order seemingly to prepare the minds of the people for the worst¹⁴.

Having thus unburdened his mind, and found, no doubt, the consequent relief, he called a council of his principal officers, in which it was resolved, that the future operations should be above the town, in order to draw the French general, if possible, from his impregnable position, and bring on an engagement. The camp SEPT. 3. at Montmorency was accordingly abandoned; and the whole British army being embarked on board the fleet, part of it was landed at point Levi, and part carried higher up the river. The good effects of this new scheme were soon visible.

14. “ The affairs of Great-Britain, I know,” says he, “ require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some probability of success !” Letter to Mr. Pitt, ubi sup.

The marquis de Montcalm, apprehensive that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, in order to watch their motions; and by that means weakened his own army. Meantime a daring plan was formed by the three English brigadier-generals, and presented to the commander in chief; namely, a proposal for landing the troops in the night under the heights of Abraham, a little above the town, in hopes of conquering the rugged ascent before morning.

The very boldness of this plan, which was conceived while Wolfe was confined by sickness, recommended it to his generous and intrepid spirit. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steep so difficult as hardly to be ascended in the day-time, even without opposition. The French general could not think that a descent would be attempted in defiance of so many obstacles. It was effected, however, with equal judgment and vigour. Wolfe himself was one of the first who leaped on shore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice. All the troops vied with each other in emulating the gallant example; and the whole British army had reached the summit, and was ranged under its proper officers, by break of day. SEPT. 13.

Montcalm, as Wolfe had foreseen, when informed that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded Quebec, could not at first credit the alarming intelligence. The ascent of an army by such a precipice exceeded all his ideas of military enterprise. He believed it to be only a feint, magnified by report, in order to induce him to abandon his strong post. But when convinced of its reality, he no longer hesitated what course to pursue; when he found that a battle could not prudently be avoided, he bravely resolved to hazard one, and immediately put his troops in motion for that purpose.

No sooner did general Wolfe perceive the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, than he began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by general Monkton, and the left by general Murray. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, secured the rear; and as the marquis de Montcalm advanced in such a manner as to shew his intention was to out flank the left of the English army, general Townshend was sent thither with the regiment of Amherst, which he formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals.

The disposition of the French army was no less masterly. The right wing was composed of half the colony troops, two battalions of European soldiers, and a body of Indians. The centre consisted of a column formed of two other battalions of regulars; and one battalion of regulars, with the remainder of the colony-troops, secured the left wing. The bushes and corn-fields in the enemy's front were filled with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave British officers.

That fire was the more severely felt, as the British troops were ordered to keep up theirs. This they did with great patience and fortitude, until the French main body advanced within forty yards of their line. Then they poured in, at a general discharge, a thick shower of bullets, which took full effect, and made terrible havock among the enemy's ranks. Nor did any relaxation of vigour take place. The British fire was supported with the same power it had been begun; and the enemy every where yielded to it. But in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, who was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a fatal bullet in his breast, and fell in the arms of victory.

Instead

Instead of being disconcerted by the loss of their commander, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own particular character, as well as the glory of the whole. While the grenadiers took vengeance with their bayonets, general Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his direction, and broke the centre of the French army. Then it was that the Highlanders, drawing their broad swords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and falling upon them with resistless fury, drove the fugitives with great slaughter toward the city of Quebec, or under certain fortifications which the Canadians had raised on the banks of the river St. Charles.

The other divisions of the British army did not behave with less gallantry. Colonel Howe, with part of the light infantry, having taken post behind a small copse, sallied out frequently upon the flanks of the enemy, during their spirited attack on the other part of his division, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier-general Townshend advanced against their front; so that the French general's design of turning the left flank of the English army was totally defeated. But the gallant officer, who had so remarkably contributed to this service, was suddenly called to a more important station, in consequence of a new disaster. General Monkton, who had succeeded general Wolfe, according to the order of military precedence, being dangerously wounded, the chief command devolved upon Townshend, as next in seniority. On receiving the melancholy news, he hastened to the centre; and finding the troops somewhat disordered in the ardour of pursuit, he formed them again with all possible celerity. That act of generalship, however, was scarce completed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, appeared in the rear of the victorious army. He had begun his march from Cape Rogue, a considerable way up the river, as soon as he received intelligence that the British forces had gained the heights of Abraham. But fortunately the main body of the French army was, by this
time,

time, so much broken and dispersed, that Bougainville did not think it advisable to hazard a new attack³.

The victory was indeed decisive. The brave marquis de Montcalm, and his second in command, were both mortally wounded. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and near an equal number fell in the battle or pursuit. The remainder of their army, unable to keep the field, retired first to Point au Tremble, and afterward to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

The loss of the English, with respect to numbers, was very inconsiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed five hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a particular detail. He first received a shot in the wrist; but wrapt a handkerchief round his arm, and encouraged his men to advance, without discovering the least discomposure. He next received a shot in the groin, which he also concealed. Even after the mortal bullet had pierced his breast, he suffered himself unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued; and when told that the French army was totally routed, and fled on all sides, "Then," said he, "I am happy!"—and instantly expired, in a kind of patriotic transport, which seemed to diffuse over his darkening countenance an air of exultation and triumph.

Wolfe, at the age of thirty-five, to all the fervour of spirit, the liberality of sentiment, the humanity, generosity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconsiderable share of the presence of mind and military skill that constitute the great commander. He needed only years and opportunity of action, to place him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation;

15. *Letter from brigadier-general Townshend to Mr. secretary Pitt. in London Gazette, Oct. 17, 1759. Knox's Campaigns, vol. ii.*

to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge, the correctness of judgment perfected by experience.

Montcalm, the French general, was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents. Though less fortunate in the last scene of his life, he had often been victorious; and he made the most judicious dispositions that human prudence could suggest, both before the battle of Quebec, and during the engagement. Nor were his dying words less remarkable than those of Wolfe. "I am glad of it!" said he, when informed that his wound was mortal; and on being told he could survive only a few hours, he gallantly replied, "So much the better!—I shall not then "live to see the surrender of Quebec"¹⁶."

That event, as the illustrious Montcalm foresaw, was not distant. Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood, the city of Quebec surrendered SEPT. 18. to the English fleet and army, which were preparing for a grand attack. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace should decide their future condition¹⁷. Thus was the capital of New-France reduced under the dominion of Great-Britain, after an arduous campaign of about three months; and all circumstances considered, perhaps there never was a naval and military enterprise conducted with more steady perseverance, or distinguished by more vigour and ability.

While the British generals were thus making rapid strides toward the final conquest of the French empire in America, M. de Lally, the French governor-general in the East Indies threatened with utter subjection the English settlements in the Carnatic. Having reduced fort St. David and Cudalore, as already related, his next attempt was against Madrass, the principal English set-

16. Knox's *Campaigns*, vol. ii.

17. *London Gazette*, ubi sup.

tlement on the coast of Coromandel. This place was regularly invested by two thousand European troops, and a large body of sepoy, after its brave but slender garrison had made every possible effort to keep the enemy at a distance. And by the resolution of governor Pigot, and the persevering courage of colonel Draper, colonel Lawrence, and other gallant officers, it was enabled to hold out till the arrival of succours. On the appearance of captain Kempenfelt in the Queenborough man of war, and the company's ship *Revenge*, with a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, the French general found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; greatly mortified and enraged at a disappointment, which blasted all his sanguine hopes of expelling the English from the peninsula of Indostan.

The British forces in the Carnatic, though still inferior to those of the enemy in numbers, now took the field in different divisions, and reduced successively the French settlements of Masulipatam and Conjeveram. Major Brereton, however, unhappily failed in a rash but vigorous attack upon Vandivash. He was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men. But Vandivash was afterward reduced, and also Carnagolly, by colonel Coote, who had superseded Brereton in the command of the British forces. This able officer bravely maintained his conquest, and defeated a strong army under general Lally, who made a bold attempt to regain possession of the disputed settlement.

The battle of Vandivash was accompanied with several circumstances sufficiently interesting to merit a description. General Lally being early deserted by his whole body of cavalry, in consequence of a brisk cannonade, put himself at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuously rushed into action. Colonel Coote coolly received the enemy at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, opposed obliquely to theirs. Nor did he alter his disposition, although they did. After two discharges, the regiment of Lorrain
vigorously

vigorously pressed on, in the form of a column, through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all resistance. In an instant the two regiments were engaged at the push of the bayonet. The front of the French column at first broke the English line, and a momentary confusion ensued. But no sooner did man encounter man, in single opposition, than the superiority of British prowess was conspicuous. The field was suddenly strewn with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorraine was broken, routed, and hotly pursued.

This conflict was followed by another, no less bloody, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As soon as colonel Coote could restrain the ardour of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to advance with Draper's regiment (the colonel having returned to England for the recovery of his health), and take possession of a fortified post, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was mortally wounded, but not before he saw that the post was gained. "Follow your blow!" said he, greatly, to some of the soldiers who offered to assist him; "and leave me to my fate!"

That service was gallantly performed by major Monson, who now succeeded to the command of Draper's regiment. In vain did M. de Bussy attempt to recover the dear-earned post, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, to maintain the combat on the plain. His horse being shot under him, he was made prisoner, in leading on to the push of the bayonet the few troops that preserved any countenance. Major Monson received his sword. The regiment of Lally was utterly broken; and the French general, having lost six hundred men, was happy to save the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors¹⁸. The routed infantry formed behind the cavalry, which had recovered from their panic, and the flight was conducted with some degree of order.

18. Orme, *Hist. Indost.* book xii.

Nor were these the only achievements of the British forces in the East Indies, in the course of this memorable year. During the progress of colonel Coote on the coast of Coromandel, admiral Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet under M. d'Aché, in a third and desperate engagement, though without capturing any ships. Surat, a place of great consequence, on the coast of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the English settlement of Bombay. The French factory there was destroyed; and, on the opposite side of the peninsula, the Dutch were chastised for attempting to acquire an ascendancy in Bengal.

These avaricious republicans, whose grasping spirit no principles can moderate, no treaties restrain, become jealous of the growth of the English power in the East Indies, and, enraged at the loss of certain branches of trade, which they had been accustomed to monopolize, formed a conspiracy for the extirpation of their rivals, as atrocious as that of Amboyna. In consequence of this conspiracy (in which the French and the nabob of Bengal are supposed to have been engaged), the government of Batavia, under pretence of reinforcing their settlement at Chincura, sent an armament of seven ships, and thirteen hundred land forces, up the river Hughley. The troops were landed near Tannah Fort, and a detachment from Chincura advanced to meet them. Meantime colonel Forde, who had been appointed to watch their motions, at the head of the troops of the English East India company, gave battle first to the detachment, and afterward to the main body; defeated both; killed four hundred and forty men, and made all the fugitives prisoners. About the same time, three English East India ships (armed and manned for desperate service), gave battle to the Dutch squadron, and obliged the whole to strike, after an obstinate engagement¹⁹.

Seeing their armament thus humbled, the factory at Chincura agreed to such conditions as the government of

19. Compared *Relations* of the hostile attempt of the Dutch in Bengal, transmitted to the East India house.

Calcutta thought proper to impose, disclaiming all knowledge of hostile intentions. Similar protestations were made by the states-general in Europe; and the British ministry, though by no means convinced of their good faith, seemed to admit their apology. The chastisement inflicted, though necessary for self-defence, was thought sufficiently severe to operate as a correction.

Every where victorious by land, and crowned with conquest at both extremities of the earth, the success of the British arms in Europe was no less splendid by sea. Elated with their advantage at St. Cas, the French talked loudly of retaliating the insults on their coasts, by invading, at the same time, Great-Britain and Ireland in three different places. Their ministry, embarrassed by the failure of public credit, were happy to indulge the national vanity. Large bodies of troops were accordingly assembled on the coasts of the channel; men of war and transports were collected, and flat-bottomed boats prepared at the principal sea-ports. A small armament, said to be destined for the invasion of Scotland, was to sail from Dunkirk, under the conduct of M. de Thurot, who had greatly distinguished himself as the commander of a privateer; that, supposed to be designed against Ireland, was to sail from Vannes, in Lower-Brittanny; the land forces to be commanded by the duke d'Aguillon, and the fleet, which was preparing at Brest, by M. de Conflans; while the troops intended for the invasion of England, if any such intention ever existed, were to sail from Havre de Grace, and other ports on the coast of Normandy, in flat-bottomed boats, and land in the night, under able commanders, on the opposite shore.

In order to defeat the purpose of these boasted armaments, an English squadron, under commodore Boys, was stationed off Dunkirk; the port of Havre de Grace was guarded, and the town successfully bombarded, by rear-admiral Rodney; sir Edward Hawke, with a formidable force, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where

the French fleet, under Conflans, lay in readiness to conduct, as was supposed, the transports and flat-bottomed boats belonging to the grand armament; and a small squadron, detached from that under Hawke, hovered on the coast of Brittany. These precautions were continued during the whole summer. All the ports of France in the channel, were under an actual blockade; and the projected invasions, in consequence of this restraint, seemed to be laid aside by the French ministry till the month of August, when, the battle of Minden having baffled all their designs upon Hanover, they turned their attention seriously toward their naval armaments.

In the mean time admiral Boscawen, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, was employed in blocking up, in the harbour of Toulon, a French squadron, under M. de la Clue, designed to assist, as was believed, in the descents upon the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland. But Boscawen, finding it necessary to return to Gibraltar to careen, M. de la Clue took that opportunity to attempt to pass the straits, and had nearly accomplished his purpose, when he was discovered by the English admiral, pursued, and overtaken, on August 18, off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal. The squadrons were nearly equal in force; the French consisted of twelve, and the English of fourteen ships of the line. The French, however, made but a feeble resistance. The admiral's ship, named the *Ocean*, of eighty guns, and the *Redoubtable*, of seventy-four guns, were destroyed; and the *Temeraire*, of twenty-four, and the *Modeste* of sixty-four guns, were taken²⁰.

This disaster did not discourage the French ministry from their projected invasions. The greatest preparations were made at Brest and Rochfort; and the long-neglected pretender, again flattered and carressed, is said to have remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes, in disguise, in order once more to hazard his person,

20. Boscawen's *Letter*, in *Lond. Gazette*, Sept. 7, 1759.

and countenance a revolt in the dominions of his ancestors, to serve the ambitious purposes of France. Happily the execution of that scheme, which might have produced much confusion, was prevented, by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, till the season of action was past. But the French, in their ardour, seemed to disregard the course of the seasons and the rage of the elements. The English fleet being driven off the coast of France by a violent storm, Conflans put to sea with twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, and threw the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland into the utmost terror and consternation. But their alarm was only for a moment.

Sir Edward Hawke, who had taken shelter in Torbay, also put to sea with twenty-two ships of the line, and came up with the enemy between Belleisle and cape Quiberon. The French admiral, being on his own coast, with which he was perfectly well acquainted, and not chusing openly to hazard a battle or expose himself to the disgrace of a retreat, attempted to take advantage of a lee-shore, sown thick with rocks and shoals. Among these he hoped to remain secure, or to profit by the temerity of his antagonist. He accordingly collected his fleet under the land. Hawke saw the danger, and determined to brave it; though, in so doing, he perhaps obeyed the dictates of his own impetuous courage rather than those of a prudent foresight. While his fleet remained entire, he was at all times equal to the important charge with which he was entrusted by his sovereign, the protection of the British kingdoms; but, should it be destroyed by fortuitous means, the consequences might prove very distressing to his country. Happily, on this occasion, the English admiral, whose honest mind was not the most enlightened, and whose lion-heart had never listened to the cautious suggestions of fear, being little acquainted with consequential reasoning, paid less regard to the possible disaster, than to the probability of acquiring a complete victory, and essentially serving his country, by the destruction of the French fleet.

fleet. Regardless of every peril, he bore down with full sail upon the enemy, about two o'clock in
 NOV. 20. the afternoon, and ordered the pilot to lay his own ship, the Royal George, along side of that of the French admiral, named the Royal Sun.

The pilot represented the danger of the coast. "By this remonstrance," said Hawke, "you have done your duty: now execute my orders, and I will endeavour to do mine." He reluctantly obeyed. Conflans did not decline the combat; but a French captain, with the gallantry peculiar to his nation, threw himself between the two admirals. One broadside from the Royal George, and a high sea, sent his noble ship, called the *Thesée*, with him and all his crew, to the bottom. The *Superbe* shared the same fate. The *Formidable* struck her colours. The Royal Sun drove ashore, and was burnt by her own people, as the *Hero* was by the British seamen. The *Juste* sunk at the mouth of the Loire. Unfortunately, however, a tempestuous night, which saved the French fleet from utter ruin, proved fatal to two English ships of the line. They ran upon a sand-bank, and were irretrievably lost. But all the men, and part of the stores were saved²¹.

This justly celebrated victory, which broke the boasted effort of the naval power of France, freed the inhabitants of South-Britain from all the apprehensions of an invasion. But the people of North-Britain were still kept under alarm. The famous adventurer Thurot had got out of Dunkirk a little before Conflans left Brest. His squadron consisted of one ship of forty-four guns, named the *Belleisle*, in honour of the French minister; three frigates of thirty guns each, and one of twenty-four; the whole carrying about twelve hundred land-forces.

21. Sir Edward Hawke's letter, in London Gazette, Nov. 30, 1759, and information afterward received relative to the action.

With this force Thurot sailed for the North-Sea, and shewed a disposition to land on the coast of Scotland, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen: but being pursued by commodore Boys, he was obliged to take shelter in Gottenburg in Sweden, and afterward in Bergen in Norway. During these voyages, in an inclement season, his men became sickly, his ships were greatly shattered, and he lost company with one of them. He determined, however, to attempt something worthy of his former exploits, before he returned to France. Nor was he void of hopes of yet co-operating with Conflans, with whose defeat he was unacquainted. He accordingly sailed for the coast of Ireland, and made himself master of Carrickfergus. Having victualled his ships, pillaged the town, and got certain intelligence of the ruin of the French fleet, he again put to sea, and steered his course homeward. But he was swiftly pursued by captain Elliot, in the *Æolus* frigate of thirty-six guns, accompanied by the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, of thirty-two guns each, and overtaken near the Isle of Man. The force on both FEB. 28. sides was nearly equal: the commanders were A. D. 1760. rivals in valour and naval skill; the crews were tried; and the engagement that took place was obstinate and bloody. The death of the gallant Thurot determined the contest. The *Belleisle* struck her colours, and the whole French squadron instantly followed her example²².

These naval victories, with the conquests acquired by the British arms in North-America, and in the East and West Indies, in a word, wherever shipping could give a superiority, sufficiently pointed out to the intelligent part of the nation the true line of future hostilities, and the madness of persisting in the prosecution of a ruinous German war. Yet was it resolved, by the popular administration, not only to prosecute that war, but to make it the supreme object during the ensuing campaign. Three millions sterling were accordingly granted, by Parliament, in subsidies, to German princes,

22. London Gazette, March 3, 1760.

beside the enormous supplies demanded for maintaining twenty-five thousand British troops in Westphalia. And all these troops and subsidies, it must be owned, were necessary for the defence of the electorate of Hanover, and in order to enable the king of Prussia to support his declining fortune against the Austrians, Russians, Swedes, and the army of the empire. But why the people of Great-Britain should burden themselves for such purposes, with between five and six millions of debt annually, is a question that no good citizen could answer with temper, and which a quiet subject would not chuse to investigate. It will, therefore, be enough to say, that such was the wish of the monarch, and the will of the minister, who governed the populace and the parliament with absolute sway; and who had the address to convince both, that it would be ungenerous in Great-Britain, and unworthy of her glory, to desert an illustrious ally in distress, after having encouraged him to engage in so arduous a struggle; or to permit the electoral dominions of her sovereign, how small soever their value, to fall into the hands of an enemy whom she had vanquished in every other part of the world.

The people of France were no less generous to their king. As the ordinary resources of the state had failed, the principal nobility and gentry, in imitation of his example, threw their plate into the public treasury, in order to enable him to support with vigour the war in Germany; conscious that the strength of the kingdom could there, on its own frontier, be exerted to the greatest advantage, and that of Great-Britain with the least effect. The French army in Westphalia was accordingly augmented to one hundred thousand men, under the duke de Broglie, now honoured with a mareschal's staff, and entrusted with the chief command; while an inferior army, consisting of near thirty thousand good troops, was formed upon the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain.

The

The allied army, under prince Ferdinand, was less numerous than that under Broglio, but the troops were in better condition. The allies, however, very prudently acted chiefly on the defensive. Yet if Broglio and St. Germain had not quarrelled, and come to an open rupture, in consequence of which the latter left the service, prince Ferdinand would have found himself under the necessity of hazarding a general action, or of suffering himself to be surrounded. Before this quarrel, which happened about the middle of the campaign, and disconcerted all their plan of operations, the progress of the French arms had been very rapid. Broglio, paying no regard to the places of strength possessed by the allies in his front, pushed into the landgraviate of Hesse with the grand army, leaving detachments to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillenburg; while St. Germain penetrated through the duchy of Westphalia, and the two armies formed a junction near a place called Corbach, on the tenth of July.

Ignorant of this junction, and desirous to prevent it, prince Ferdinand, who had fallen back with the allied army from Fitzlar, and was retreating toward the river Dymel, sent the hereditary prince, with a strong detachment before him to Saxenhausen, where he meant to encamp. Continuing to advance, that gallant youth found a body of French troops formed near Corbach; and concluding them to be St. Germain's van-guard, as they did not seem to exceed ten battalions, and fifteen squadrons, he attacked them with great fury. But the French stood their ground with firmness; and being continually reinforced with fresh troops from the main army, the hereditary prince was obliged to retire in some disorder, and with considerable loss²³. A few days after, however, he severely retaliated upon the enemy, by surprising a French detachment, under M. Glaubitz, at Ermsdorff. Beside killing a great number of all ranks, and

23. London Gazette, July 22, 1760.

taking their artillery and baggage, he made the commander in chief, with one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand two hundred and eighty-two private men, prisoners of war²⁴.

During these transactions, the duke de Broglie remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. And the chevalier de Muy, who had succeeded the count de St. Germain, as second in command, having passed the Dymel at Stadtbergen, with thirty-five thousand men, (being the reserve of the French army) and extended this body along the banks of that river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, prince Ferdinand also passed the Dymel to give him battle. He accordingly ordered the hereditary prince and general Sporcken, who had reconnoitred the position of the enemy, advantageously posted near Warburg, to turn their left wing, while he himself advanced against their centre, on the thirty-first day of July, with the main body of the allied army. Thus attacked in flank and rear, and in danger of being surrounded, the French, after a smart engagement, retired with precipitation toward Stadtberg, leaving on the field about fifteen hundred men dead or dangerously wounded. About an equal number were made prisoners in the pursuit, by the British cavalry. The loss of the allies was very inconsiderable²⁵.

By this advantage, which insured to him the command of the Weser and the Dymel, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Westphalia, and to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into the electorate of Hanover. But in order to obtain these important ends, he was under the necessity, notwithstanding his success, of sacrificing the whole landgraviate of Hesse. The enemy even reduced Göttingen and Münden, in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, while the people of England were celebrating with bonfires and illuminations the victory obtained

24. Ibid. July 29.

25. Lond. Gazette, Aug. 9, 1760.

by their arms which was immediately followed by all the apparent consequences of a defeat.

Prince Ferdinand, however, regardless of appearances, continued to occupy Warburg, for more than a month after the battle; and the duke de Broglio, overawed by so commanding a position, attempted nothing farther of any consequence during the campaign. In the meantime the hereditary prince undertook a rambling expedition to the Lower-Rhine, and laid siege to Wesel. But he was defeated near the convent of Campen, on the sixteenth of October, by a body of French troops, under M. de Castries, and obliged to return with the loss of near two thousand brave men; including killed, wounded, prisoners, and those who died of fatigue²⁶. Soon after this severe check, both armies went into winter-quarters; the French being left in possession of Hesse, and of the whole country eastward of the Weser, to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover. The British troops were cantoned in the bishoprick of Paderborn, where they suffered great hardships from scarcity of forage, and provisions. Few campaigns, between armies so numerous and well appointed, have been more barren of memorable events.

The king of Prussia, as usual, was more active than the general of the allies; and the desperate state of his affairs required the most vigorous exertions. He began the campaign, however, on a defensive plan. Having passed the winter in Saxony, he took possession of a very strong camp, between the Elbe and the Mulda, in the month of April. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army, under mareschal Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same time to send a

26. Ibid. Oct. 28, et seq.

strong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without exposing himself to any danger.

Prince Henry had assembled an army near Frankfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia, and the New Marche of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. Fouquet, another Prussian general, had established his quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz. And whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was so posted as to send or to receive succours from him, as either party should happen to be pressed.

Military science could not perhaps have devised a more complete defensive system. But the wisest precautions may be eluded by cunning, or disconcerted by enterprise. General Laudohn, the most enterprising of all the Austrian commanders, having quitted his camp in Bohemia, (where he had passed the winter) with a strong but light and disencumbered army, threatened alternately Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg; Breslaw, Berlin, and Schweidnitz. At length he seemed to fix upon the latter; and general Fouquet, deceived by the artful feint, marched to Schweidnitz with the main body of his troops, and left Glatz uncovered.

No sooner did Laudohn perceive, that this stratagem had succeeded, than he made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut, which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet alarmed, at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut with great ease. Meanwhile Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was in some measure, enabled to surround the little army under Fouquet. The Prussian general did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual.

The

The Austrians attacked his entrenchments with irresistible fury; and he himself having received two mortal wounds, and four thousand of his troops being slain, the remains of his army, amounting to seven thousand men, threw down their arms on the field, and surrendered prisoners of war. The reduction of Glatz, on which Laudohn fell like a thunder-bolt, was the immediate consequence of this decisive victory²⁷.

The king of Prussia's defensive plan seemed now to be entirely ruined. One of his three armies was destroyed, and the victorious Laudohn was ready to lay siege to Breslaw, where he expected to be joined by the Russians, and enabled to complete the conquest of Silesia, the great object of the war. His Prussian majesty saw the danger, and while the fortitude of his spirit determined him to meet it without shrinking, his daring genius led him to hope, that the most important advantages might be drawn from the very bosom of misfortune. He accordingly quitted his strong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and directed his march toward Silesia. Mareschal Daun pursued the same route, and by forced marches got the start of his heroic antagonist, who was more dilatory than usual.

The Austrian general had reached Gorlitz, and was pushing on to Lauban, when the gallant Frederic received the agreeable intelligence of his rapid progress, and, by one of the boldest acts of generalship recorded in the annals of war, wheeled into the opposite direction; repassed the Spree near Bautzen, and threw himself unexpectedly before Dresden. His appearance struck the garrison like the springing of a mine. But Macguire, the governor, being an officer of courage and experience, not only refused to surrender the place, but resolved to defend it to the last extremity; and as it had been strengthened by several additional fortifications, since it had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, it baffled all the desperate assaults of the Prussians, and

27. Prussian and Austrian *Relations* compared.

gloriously

gloriously held out against every mode of attack, until
 mareschal Daun returned from Silesia, and obliged the
 king to relinquish an enterprise, which de-
 JULY 21. served to have been crowned with the most
 brilliant success²⁸.

Chagrined at his disappointment, the Prussian
 monarch offered battle to Daun; but that cautious com-
 mander prudently declined the challenge, and took every
 measure to render an attack impracticable. In the
 meantime general Laudohn, having completed his pre-
 parations, laid siege to Breslaw, and attempted to in-
 JULY 30. timidate the governor and the inhabitants into
 an immediate capitulation, by a pompous
 display of his strength. He set forth, that his forces
 consisted of fifty battalions and eighty squadrons; that
 the Russian army, amounting to seventy-five thousand
 men, was within three days march; that it was in vain
 for the governor to expect succour from the king of
 Prussia, then on the other side of the Elbe, and still
 more vain to look for relief from prince Henry, who
 must sink beneath the sword of the Russians, if he
 attempted to obstruct their progress. And he declared
 that the garrison must expect no terms, nor the inhabi-
 tants any favour, if they attempted to hold out.

Finding all his threats ineffectual, as the governor's
 reply was firm and manly, Laudohn endeavoured to put
 them in execution. He tried to carry the town by assault,
 while he thundered upon it, from an immense artillery,
 a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. But the assault
 failed; and the awful bombardment affected only the
 wretched inhabitants, on whom it fell like the vengeance

28. It will detract little from the merit of this enterprise, to suppose, as has been insinuated, that the king of Prussia had an intention to march into Silesia, till he found that Daun had got the start of him. But, if such had been really his purpose, there is no reason to suppose he would have permitted Daun to gain upon him a march of two days; as, on every other occasion, he exceeded the Austrians in the celerity of his motions. And his return was infinitely more rapid than his advance.

of heaven. At length an army was seen, and tremulous hope and convulsive fear shook, by turns, the hearts of the distracted citizens:—but it was not an army of Russians. A deliverer appeared in the person of prince Henry, whose peculiar fortune it was, with a happy conformity to his beneficent disposition, more frequently to save than to destroy. He had marched one hundred and twenty miles in five days with all his artillery and baggage. The Austrians abandoned the siege on his approach²⁹.

But the rapid march of prince Henry, and the relief of Breslaw, seemed only to retard for a moment the final ruin of the king of Prussia's affairs. Laudohn, lately victorious, and still formidable, though obliged to retire before the royal brother, kept Schweidnitz and Neiss under blockade, and anxiously waited the arrival of the Russians; when he hoped not only to receive the submission of those two places, but to return to the siege of the capital, and complete at one blow the conquest of Silesia.

The main body of the Russian army, under count Czernichew, had actually reached the frontiers of that province, and wanted only a few days unobstructed march to form the much feared and desired junction. Another body of Russians had entered Pomerania, where the Prussian forces did not exceed five thousand horse and foot, and threatened to invest Colberg; while the Swedes resumed their operations in the same country, with an army of twenty thousand men.

A plan of mere defence, in such circumstances, must have proved altogether ineffectual. Silesia was in danger of being instantly subdued, by the junction of the Austrians and Russians. The king of Prussia, therefore, marched thither without delay: and left mareschal Daun, who had the start of him at setting out, considerably behind. He passed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiss, the Quiss, and the Bober, with a nu-

29. *London Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1760.

merous army, clogged with its heavy artillery, and above two thousand waggons: and while one body of forces hung on his flank, another on his rear, and a third presented itself in front, he traversed a tract of country near two hundred miles in extent, under all those perils and difficulties, with a celerity that would have rendered memorable the march of a detachment of light troops. But he was not able, with all his activity, to bring Laudohn to action, before that general was joined by the Austrian armies under Daun and Lacy. And by the forces of these three generals, which occupied an immense extent of ground, he was in danger of being surrounded in his camp at Lignitz. In vain did he attempt, by various movements, to divide the enemy's strength, to turn their flanks, or attack them under any other disadvantage: the nature of the ground, and the skill of the Austrian generals, rendered abortive all the suggestions of ingenuity.

While thus circumstanced, his Prussian majesty received intelligence, that the Russian army, under count Czernichew, was ready to pass the Oder at Auras. As the least of two dangers, he resolved to attack the Austrians before the arrival of a new enemy. Meanwhile mareschal Daun, having reconnoitered the king's situation at Lignitz, had formed a design of attacking him by surprise, in the night, with the united strength of the three Austrian armies. And he had communicated his design to the two other generals.

Of this design, it is probable, the Prussian monarch was not ignorant, as on the same night that it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post, on the heights of Psaffendorff, by which general Laudohn was to advance. Daun, with no less caution, made his approaches toward the Prussian camp; but to his astonishment, on his arrival, he found no enemy there. When day broke, however, he could perceive at a distance the rising of a thick smoke, which left him little room to doubt in what business the king was engaged, or for what purpose he had quitted his station.

As

As Laudohn was eagerly pressing on to Lignitz, and feeding his heart with splendid hopes of the glory which he should acquire, by his distinguished share in the action that was to determine the fate of the illustrious Frederic, he was furiously attacked about three o'clock in the morning, by the Prussian army, drawn up in order of battle; and obliged to retire, after an obstinate dispute, with the loss of eight thousand men. Nor could marschal Daun possibly come to his assistance. His Prussian majesty, who exposed his own person in a remarkable manner in order to animate his troops, was unguarded in nothing else. He had secured his rear so effectually with a strong body of reserve, and by a numerous artillery, judiciously planted on the heights of Psaffendorff, as to render an attack altogether impracticable. Daun therefore found himself under the necessity of remaining inactive, and of waiting, in anxious suspense, the issue of the momentous combat. It was finally decided by six o'clock, when the Austrians gave way on all sides, and were pursued as far as the Katsbach, a river that falls into the Oder a little below Lignitz. The king did not chuse to push his advantage farther, lest he should afford the wily and watchful Daun an opportunity of disjoining his army³⁰.

By this victory, the Prussian monarch not only rescued himself from the most imminent danger, but prevented the long dreaded junction of the Russian and Austrian armies in Silesia; for count Czernichew was so much intimidated at the defeat of the Austrians, that he immediately repassed the Oder. Having joined his brother Henry at Newmarke, and opened a communication with Breslaw, the king therefore marched against marschal Daun, who had formed the blockade of Schweidnitz; routed a body of the enemy under general Beck, and obliged the grand Austrian army, under Daun, to forego its purpose, and take refuge in the mountains of Landshut.

30. Prussian and Austrian *Accounts*, in London and Foreign *Gazettes*, compared.

What time his Prussian majesty was making these heroic efforts in Silesia, the reputation of his arms was admirably supported in Saxony by general Hulsen, to whom he had committed the command of his troops in that country, and who gained several advantages over the army of the empire. But the state of his affairs in other quarters was very different. The Russians, after they repassed the Oder, pushed a strong detachment into Brandenburg; and count Czernichew, the Russian commander, being there joined by a large body of oct. 9. Austrians under general Lacy, the united army made itself master of Berlin³¹. Nor was this mortifying blow the only stroke of ill fortune that fell upon the gallant Frederic.

The Russians and Austrians, having levied a contribution upon the inhabitants of Berlin, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, and pillaged the royal palaces, retired by different routes, on hearing that the king was advancing to the relief of his capital. The city suffered considerably, especially in its ornaments: the adjacent country was ravaged, and his Prussian majesty sustained a prodigious loss in valuable furniture and military stores. But these were not the worst consequences that attended the invasion of Brandenburg, and the taking of the seat of government, of arts, and of elegance.

When Berlin was first threatened, general Hulsen left Saxony, and attempted to oppose the enemy. He found himself unequal to the general purpose, yet continued to hover in the neighbourhood, in order to seize any advantage that might offer. In the meantime the prince of Deuxponts, meeting with no interruption, made rapid progress in Saxony. Leipsic, Torgaw, and Wittenberg, successively surrendered to the Imperialists. And while the illustrious Frederic was thus losing his footing in Saxony, which had been hitherto the great support

31. Lond. Gazette, Oct. 28, 1760.

of his armies, a detachment from the French army in Westphalia laid Halberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg both by land and sea. The situation of the king of Prussia again seemed desperate. All his motions, in his march toward Brandenburg, were watched by Daun, whose army had been reinforced; and Laudohn, in his absence, had laid siege to the strong and important fortress of Cosel in Silesia, and threatened the whole province with subjection.

It now became necessary for the warlike monarch, who was still at the head of a strong army, to call up once more the vigour of his genius, and attempt by some bold exertion to extricate himself from all his difficulties. He had determined to make such an exertion. And no sooner did he learn, that the enemy had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, than he passed the Elbe, and rushed into Saxony. Mareschal Daun follow-^{OCT. 25.}ed him, with an army of eighty thousand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgaw, his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and left being secured by ponds, hills, and woods. A stronger position than that seized upon by the Austrian general, could not possibly have been chosen by a small army, as a security against one of the greatest force. Yet did his Prussian majesty, encompassed by dangers, resolve to attack, with only fifty thousand men, that able and experienced commander in his seemingly impregnable camp; as he could not hope to draw him from it, and winter was fast approaching.

In consequence of this resolution, the most daring that could be dictated by despair, the king divided his army into three bodies, and made all his dispositions with as much coolness and caution, as if it had been the result of the most guarded prudence. General Hulsen, with one body, was directed to take post in a wood on the left of the Austrian army, and had orders not to

move until he found the other divisions of the Prussian army were engaged. General Zeithen was instructed to charge on the enemy's right; and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by his Prussian majesty in person. These dispositions being made, the king informed his officers, that he was determined to conquer or die. They unanimously answered, they would die or conquer with him.

Pleased with the ardour of his troops, and convinced that they would not disappoint his hopes, the intrepid monarch, having made his approaches in the morning, began an attack upon the enemy's camp about two in the afternoon. He was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, disposed along the front of the Austrian line. The Prussian infantry, which were first presented, persevered in their efforts with uncommon resolution. But they were at length broken, and repulsed with great slaughter, after they had been three times led on to the charge, and as often obliged to give ground. The king ordered his cavalry to advance. They broke the Austrian infantry, by their impetuous shock, but were soon forced to retire by the pressure of fresh battalions, which poured in on every side. And victory seemed ready to declare for the Austrians, when general Zeithen, with the Prussian left wing, fell upon the enemy's rear: and mareschal Daun, having received a dangerous wound in the thigh, was carried off the field.

Encouraged by the confusion occasioned by these fortunate circumstances, the Prussian infantry returned once more to the charge. The cavalry, following their example, threw several bodies of Austrians into irreparable disorder; and if the darkness of the night had not prevented the possibility of pursuit, and enabled the routed army to escape over the Elbe, the victory would have been complete, and the carnage immense. As matters terminated, the loss of lives, in the battle of Torgaw, was very considerable. About ten thousand

men

men were killed or wounded on each side. And the Prussians took near eight thousand prisoners, among whom were four generals, and two hundred inferior officers³².

Of all the king of Prussia's victories, this was perhaps the most glorious, as it certainly was the most important. His troops, though very different from those invincible battalions, now no more, which he had formerly led into Bohemia, and which conquered at Lowositz, Prague, Lissa, and Rosbach, animated by his presence and example, behaved with a firmness worthy of the most hardy veterans. In no battle did he ever expose his own person so much; yet, as if invulnerable, a bullet only grazed gently upon his breast. His courage and conduct were alike conspicuous. The Austrians pretended to dispute with him the honour of the action; but its consequences sufficiently prove where the advantage lay.

His Prussian majesty immediately entered Torgaw; he recovered all Saxony, except Dresden, (in the neighbourhood of which Daun disposed his army) before the close of the campaign; and he put his troops into winter-quarters in that electorate, instead of being obliged to canton them in his own wasted dominions. He attained the object for which he fought, and at the same time added new lustre to his arms. The shock of victory seemed to be felt in every hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raised the blockade of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg, in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were forced to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund³³.

During these important transactions on the continent of Europe, events of still greater moment took place in other quarters of the globe. While the allies of Great-Britain, though supported by her money and troops, with

32. Prussian and Austrian *Gazettes* compared.

33. Id. *ibid.*
difficulty

difficulty maintained their ground in Germany, which alone seemed to engage her attention, her own arms, under the direction of British officers, were crowned with signal success in North-America and the East Indies.

The taking of Quebec, it had been generally supposed, would be followed by the final submission of Canada, without any farther struggle. But this was soon discovered to be a dangerous mistake. Although the possession of that city was necessary to the conquest of the province, much yet remained to be done before it could be subjected to Great-Britain.

The main body of the French army, which had retired, after the battle of Quebec, to Montreal, and still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, was there reinforced with six thousand Canadian militia, and a party of Indians. With these forces, M. de Levi, who had succeeded the marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, proposed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the spring. In that resolution he was encouraged by an oversight of the English admirals, who had not made sufficient provision against his attaining a superiority on the river St. Lawrence. No vessels of any force had been left at Quebec, on a supposition that they could not be useful in winter.

The French general had even thoughts of attempting the recovery of the place, during the rigour of that season; although a British garrison of five thousand men had been left in it under the command of general Murray. But on reconnoitring, he found the out-posts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he delayed the enterprise until the month of April. Then his artillery, provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage, fell down the St. Lawrence from Montreal, under the convoy of six stout frigates. This squadron secured to him the undisputed command of the river; a circumstance of the utmost importance to the execution of his whole

whole design. And after a march of ten days, he arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

Meanwhile general Murray had omitted no step that could be taken by an able and experienced officer for maintaining the important conquest committed to his care. But the garrison had suffered so much from excessive cold in the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that he had not above three thousand men fit for service, when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army. With this small but gallant body, accustomed to conquer, he intrepidly resolved to meet the enemy in the field, in order to avoid the tedious hardships and the dangers of a siege, in an extensive town, with a sickly garrison, and all the inhabitants secretly hostile to him. He accordingly marched out on the 28th of April to the heights of Abraham, and attacked M. de Levi with great impetuosity, near Sillery. But being out flanked, and ready to be surrounded by superior numbers, he was obliged to retire, after an obstinate dispute with the loss of one thousand men³⁴.

The French lost above two thousand men in this action, without deriving any positive advantage from it; for general Murray, instead of being dispirited by his defeat, seemed only to be roused to more strenuous efforts. The same bold spirit, which had led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a handful of brave men, in hopes of obliging them to relinquish their enterprise, now animated him in the defence of Quebec with a feeble garrison, since defence was become necessary. Nor did the French general lose a moment in improving his victory. He opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the eleventh of May before he could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time general Murray had com-

34. *Letter from general Murray, in the Lond. Gazette, June 27, 1760. Knox's Campaigns. vol. ii,*

pleted some out-works, and planted a numerous artillery on the ramparts; so that the French batteries were in a manner silenced, by the superior fire of the garrison. And the place was soon relieved, by the fortunate arrival of the English fleet, under Lord Colvil and commodore Swanton³⁵.

M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and retired with the utmost precipitation toward Montreal; where the marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and was resolved to make a last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

In the meantime general Amherst was diligently employed in taking measures for the utter subversion of the French power in that part of the new world. He conveyed instructions to general Murray, directing him to advance, by water to Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, by like orders, sailed with a detachment from Crown-Point, and took possession of Isle Aux Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly for Montreal; while the commander in chief, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New-York, and advanced to Oswego. There he was joined by a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, under sir William Johnson.

Amherst embarked on lake Ontario with his whole army; and after taking the fort of Isle Royale, which in a manner commands the source of the river St. Lawrence, he arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the same day that general Murray landed near that place from Quebec. The two generals met with no opposition in disembarking their troops: and by a happy concurrence of circumstances, colonel Haviland, with the detachment under his command, arrived next day.

35. *Id. ibid.*

The junction of these three bodies, composed of the flower of the British forces in North-America, and the masterly dispositions made by the commanders, convinced Vaudreuil that all resistance would be ineffectual. He therefore demanded a capitulation; which was granted the 8th of September, and on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect in such circumstances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and every other place possessed by the French within the government of Canada, was surrendered to his Britannic majesty. But it was stipulated that the troops should be transported to old France; and the Canadians were secured in their property, and in the free exercise of their religion³⁶.

This was an important conquest, and seemed to complete the great object of the war, the humiliation of the French in North-America. But while the arms of Great-Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emissaries from the province of Louisiana, had exercised their arts of insinuation so successfully among the neighbouring Indians, that the Cherokees, a powerful tribe, had commenced hostilities, toward the close of last campaign, against the more southern English colonies; plundering, massacring, and scalping the inhabitants of the back settlements. Mr. Littleton, governor of South-Carolina, repressed their ravages, and obliged them to sue for peace. They engaged to renounce the French interest, but renewed the war. Colonel Montgomery, with a regiment of Highlanders, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincial troops, made war upon them after their own manner, and severely chastised them for their breach of faith. But the consummation of vengeance was reserved for colonel Grant, who desolated the whole country of the Cherokees, destroyed fifteen of their towns, and laid them under the necessity of making the most humble submissions. They accord

36. *Letters from general Amherst and general Murray, in Lond. Gazette, Oct. 1760. Knox's Campaigns, ubi sup.*

ingly supplicated, and obtained the renewal of their treaties with England, at Charlestown, in 1761, with all the marks of a penitent spirit and pacific disposition; while the other savage tribes, over-awed by the fear of a similar visitation, seemed alike quietly disposed. The town of New-Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Mississippi, alone remained to France of all her settlements in North-America: and these were too distant and feeble to molest the English colonies.

Nor was the success of the British arms less decisive in the East Indies. Encouraged by the taking of Vandivash, and his victory over Lally, colonel Coote resolved to invest Pondicherry, the only settlement of any consequence remaining to the French on the coast of Coromandel. But as the place was too strong, and the garrison too numerous to permit him to indulge a hope of carrying it by assault, or even by regular approaches, with any force that he could assemble, he blocked it up closely by land and sea, and reduced both the garrison and the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of provisions.

In the midst of this distress, and when the blockade, which was formed in the beginning of June, had been continued for many months, the French were suddenly flattered with the prospect of relief. The English fleet, under admiral Stevens, was driven off the coast by a violent storm, and four ships of the line were lost. But such was the vigour of the officers and seamen, that before any supplies could be thrown into Pondicherry, it was again blocked up by a stout squadron. The blockade, by land, had already been changed into a regular siege, which was now carried on with redoubled vigour. A breach was made in the ramparts, and the inhabitants offered to capitulate; but as the governor paid no attention to their interests, the proposal was disregarded³⁷.

37, *Letter from colonel Coote, in Lond. Gazette, July 20, 1761.*

Lally,

Lally, who was at all times a man of violent and turbulent passions, appears to have been disordered in his understanding after his unsuccessful attempt on Madrass. Greatly dissatisfied with the state of the French affairs in India, and with the conduct of the troops under his command, he thus expressed himself in the agitations of his disappointment: "Hell has spewed me into this country of wickedness; and I wait, like Jonas, for the whale to receive me in its belly." By his haughty and contemptuous behaviour, and the tyrannical exercise of his authority, under pretence of reforming abuses, he had early rendered himself equally odious to the governor and council of Pondicherry, and to the officers of the army, and therefore found his situation extremely disagreeable during the siege. "I would rather go to command the Caffres," said he, "than remain in this Sodom, which must sooner or later be destroyed by the English fire, in default of that from heaven!" He made, however, a gallant defence.

The place being rendered utterly untenable, was surrendered to colonel Coote, on the 15th of January, 1761. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and a vast quantity of military stores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors³⁸.

In consequence of the taking of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the small settlement of Mahie, on the coast of Malabar, (by which it was immediately followed) the French power in the east was utterly subverted; and the English became in a manner masters of the whole commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from the point of the Carnatic to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, beside the almost exclusive trade of the rich and extensive provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixá, which in some measure owned their dominion.

This wonderful acquisition of trade and territory, added to the conquest of Canada and the possession of Senegal, opened to the subjects of Great-Britain im-

38. Id. *ibid*.

mense prospects of commercial advantage, as well as of future empire; of uniting the wealth of the southern to that of the northern regions of the earth; the spices and fine fabricks of Asia, with the gums and gold-dust of Africa, to the tar, turpentine, rice, indigo, tobacco, and beaver of North-America. Yet were the people of England dissatisfied. They complained of the shameful inactivity of the navy, that nothing had lately been done by sea. And they affirmed, that the final conquest of Canada was the natural consequence of the success of last campaign; that a powerful armament, which had been detained at Portsmouth during the whole summer, with a view of making a diversion in favour of the Hanoverian army, was sufficiently strong to have reduced, in the present distressed circumstances of the inhabitants, not only Martinico, but all the remaining French islands in the West Indies; of more real value to a naval and commercial people than one half of the German empire. The dispute concerning the German war was renewed, and the folly of pursuing it exposed with all the force of reasoning, and all the keenness of satire.

In the midst of these disputes, to which he was far from being inattentive, George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was suddenly taken ill on the 25th day of October, and expired almost instantly. His character is by no means complicated. Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to command the respect, of those who were most about his person. If his understanding was not very capacious, his judgment was sound; and if he had little of the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in perfection the economy of a prudent prince. Nor did that economy, though perhaps too minute for his exalted station, remarkably impair the splendour of his royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient to him. His fond attachment to German politics made the early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold spirit with which he resented the insults offered to his crown; the
readiness

readiness with which he changed his ministers, in compliance with the wishes of his people; and the brilliant conquests with which the latter years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his memory to the English nation.

The king of Great-Britain was succeeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grand-son George III. a young prince of an amiable disposition, and of the most unblemished manners. His first speech to his parliament excited the highest hopes of a patriotic reign. "Born
"and educated in this country, I glory," said he, "in
"the name of BRITON!" But before we enter upon the history of the reign of George III. it will be necessary to make a pause, and contemplate the state of Europe at the death of George II.

LETTER XXXV.

STATE OF EUROPE, AND THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR, IN ALL
QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE, CARRIED FORWARD FROM THE AC-
CESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

GEORGE III. who succeeded to the crown of Great-Britain in the twenty-third year of his age, was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, as he was beyond dispute the most powerful monarch in Europe. Supplies, indeed, large beyond all political calculation of what they could possibly raise, had already been granted by his subjects; yet were they still able and willing to raise more, in order to complete the humiliation of his and their enemies. It was however hoped, by the body of the people, that a change of politics would take place; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer suffer the public treasure to be squandered in pensions to foreign princes, under the name of subsidies, to enable them to fight their own battles, nor the blood of the British soldiery spilt to water the forests and fertilize the
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the plains of Germany. But how much soever the youthful sovereign might disapprove of the continental system, he could not immediately adopt new measures, without inflicting a direct censure upon the conduct of his venerable predecessor. Nor could he abruptly desert his German confederates, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the lustre of the British crown, and bringing into question the faith of the nation. He therefore declared in council, that as he ascended the throne in the midst of an *expensive but just and necessary war*, he would endeavour to *prosecute* that war in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace, in *concert* with his *allies*.

This declaration quieted the throbbing hearts of those allies; and the liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, for supporting the war during the
 A. D. 1761. ensuing campaign (which amounted nearly to the immense sum of twenty millions sterling), astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. The dominions of the house of Austria were much wasted; the king of Prussia was in a better situation than at the opening of the former campaign; the army under prince Ferdinand amounted to eighty thousand men, every way well appointed; the Russians and Swedes seemed tired of a war in which they had acquired neither honour nor advantage; the elector of Saxony was still in as distressed circumstances as ever, and his Polish subjects obstinately refused to interpose in his behalf. France declared her inability to discharge her pecuniary engagements to her allies. Her finances were low; her navy was ruined; her affairs in America and the East Indies were irretrievable; and her West India islands, she was sensible, must surrender to the first English armament that should appear upon their coasts. A congress was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg, in the beginning of April, for settling the disputes among the German powers; while the ministers of France
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and England were appointed to negotiate at London and Paris, in order to adjust the differences between the two crowns.

The congress at Augsburg never took place. But the negotiation between France and England was formally opened by M. Bussy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris; and was continued during the whole spring and summer, though seemingly with little sincerity on either side. Things were not yet ripe for a general pacification, and a particular treaty could not be concluded between the two crowns, without sacrifices of interest and fidelity, which neither was willing to make. Both were sensible of this; yet both professed a strong desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and both had strong reasons for such professions.

The British minister found such professions necessary, in order to reconcile the minds of the people to the farther prosecution of the German war, against which they began to revolt. And as he knew he durst not propose to give up the conquests acquired by the British arms, in Africa, America, the East or West Indies, to procure favourable terms for the German allies of his master, he on that side planted the bar of honour, which was to obstruct the progress of the negotiation, and finally to break it off; unless their affairs should take a more advantageous turn, and enable him to reconcile the interests of the king of Prussia with the engagements of his Britannic majesty. The French ministers, in like manner, accommodated themselves to their circumstances. While they made the most humiliating concessions, in order to awaken in the neutral powers a jealousy of the encroaching spirit of Great-Britain, they insisted on certain stipulations, which they had reason to believe would not be admitted, and artfully attempted to involve the interests of France with those of Spain. But the cause of the failure of this famous negotiation will best be understood by particulars.

The councils of Madrid were now under French influence. The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his last on the 10th of August, 1759, was succeeded in the throne

throne of Spain, by his brother, don Carlos king of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, don Philip should have ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, have reverted to the house of Austria; saving certain provisions, made by the same treaty, in favour of the king of Sardinia. But as don Carlos, now Charles III. of Spain, had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the Two Sicilies, by will, to his third son, don Ferdinand, the second being judged unfit for government, and the eldest designed for the Spanish succession. Don Philip acquiesced in this disposition; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France permitted him to remain in possession of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, without putting in any claim to those territories. The king of Sardinia was quietted with money.

These good offices, added to the ties of blood, could not fail to have some effect upon the mind of his catholic majesty; and although he had hitherto observed a pretty exact neutrality, had been liberal in his professions of friendship to Great-Britain, France did not despair of being able to draw him into her views. She was sensible he could not behold with indifference the humiliation of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, or the rapid progress of the British arms in America. The last more especially excited his jealousy.

The Spanish empire in America, if that of France should be annihilated, Charles III. foresaw must in a manner lie at the mercy of England, as no power would remain, in case of a contest between the two crowns, able to hold the balance in the new world. This reasonable jealousy, roused in the course of the negotiation, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, and blown into a flame by the arrogance of the British minister, induced the Spanish monarch to seek refuge in that grand FAMILY COMPACT, so long and so ardently desired by France; an ambitious league, which has already
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been attended with the most alarming consequences, and which may one day prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, unless another is formed to counteract its force.

But it will be proper, before I investigate the principles of the family compact, to trace the leading steps of the negotiation between France and England, which immediately produced it. The first proposal of the court of Versailles was, "that the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered one from the other:" and as France had assuredly been the greatest loser, such a proposition from that haughty power, appeared to the more dispassionate part of the British ministry, an instance of singular moderation, if not humility. A better foundation of treaty could not possibly be offered. But the great commoner, who directed all things, did not treat this proposition with that attention which its apparent fairness deserved.

It had already been intimated by the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, "that the situation in which they "shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position "to serve as a basis for the treaty that is to be concluded "between the two powers." And he proceeded to settle the periods; namely, the first of May in Europe, the first of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the first of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, that as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great-Britain, the court of Versailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject. Mr. Pitt, however, haughtily declared, that his Britannic majesty would admit of no other epoch but that of "the signing of the peace."

To this blunt and singular declaration the court of Versailles replied, with that coolness and temper which ought to govern all such transactions, "that if not *those*, already named, at least *some fixed periods*, during the war, ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti possidetis*, or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have a reference *only* to the time of *signing the peace*."

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For if the contrary principle should be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guess at the value of the possessions that might be given away, as it could not possibly be ascertained what might in the interval, be lost or gained. And if these difficulties occurred, it was added, in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased ten-fold upon every other, and would come to such a height, as to preclude all possibility of negociation, on things of so intricate a nature as changes and equivalents¹.

This dispute occasioned delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negociation. In the meantime hostilities were every where carried on as if no such negociation had subsisted. But the campaign was distinguished by few memorable events.

The war which had been carried on so long and so fruitlessly in Westphalia, at an immense expense, was as indecisive as ever. For although prince Ferdinand, by taking the field in the month of February, gained several advantages over the French, who are little fitted for a winter campaign, the duke de Broglie obliged him to abandon all the places he had taken or invested before the first of April; to raise the blockade of Ziegenhayn and the siege of Cassel, to expose anew the landgraviate of Hesse, and retire behind the Dymel.

Broglie having afterward passed the Dymel, and formed a junction with the French army under Soubise, who commanded on the Lower-Rhine, attacked the allies at the village of Kirch Denkern, on the 16th of July, but was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, killed or made prisoners². In consequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army toward Hammelin, was enabled to secure the course of the

1. Account of the negociation published by the court of France, and tacitly admitted by that of England.

2. Lond. Gazette, July 23, 1761.

Weser, and to protect the electorate of Hanover notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy. But he had the mortification to see them ravage Westphalia, and East-Friesland.

The king of Prussia, seemingly fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and mortified by indecisive victories, acted solely on the defensive; he himself taking post in Silesia, and his brother Henry in Saxony. Yet this defensive campaign was not more exempt from misfortune than those in which he most freely indulged the ardour of his genius. The Austrians took Schweidnitz by surprise, and the Russians made themselves masters of Colberg. By the loss of these two important places, the illustrious Frederic found himself in a worse situation than at the close of any former season of action. The Russians wintered in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia.

These events were little suitable to the haughty tone of the English minister, in his negociation with France. But several actions happened at sea between single ships and small squadrons, greatly to the honour of the British flag. And a naval armament, which had excited the highest hopes, while its destination remained unknown, was prepared early in the season, and crowned with signal success.

The object of this armament, consisting of ten ships of the line, under commodore Keppel, and near ten thousand land forces, commanded by major-general Hodgson, was Belleisle on the coast of France. Before that island, which lies within four leagues of the point of Tiberoon, between port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, and is about twelve leagues in circumference, the British fleet appeared on the seventh of April. A descent was immediately attempted at three different places, but without effect. The invaders were repulsed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, with the loss of five hundred men. They were not however discouraged, but resolutely persevered in their purpose. At length the troops, surmounting every ob-
APRIL 25.

stacle, made good their landing; drove the enemy from their lines before Palais the capital of the island: entered the town, sword in hand, and obliged the garrison to take refuge in the citadel. That fortress, built by the famous Vauban, and defended by three thousand men, under the chevalier de St. Croix, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been invested about six weeks, and a practicable breach made in the works, St. Croix, seeing no prospect of relief, JUNE 7. judged it prudent to capitulate, in order to avoid the danger of an assault: and the whole island submitted to his Britannic majesty³.

The taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bon-fires, illuminations, and every expression of triumph and tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the English populace, and was no small mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and by that means to enable prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow; and the island itself, which is literally speaking, a barren rock, being found to have no harbour for ships of force, the chief circumstance that could make it valuable to Great-Britain, the possession of it was thought by the more intelligent part of the nation, dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand brave men, beside an immense expenditure of naval and military stores. The ministry, however, represented it as a place of great importance, from its position, while they highly and justly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it. Yet, as this conquest had not been attended with the expected consequences, and as no other enterprise was planned from which any important advantage could be expected during the summer, Mr. Pitt condescended to name certain epochs, to which the reciprocal holding of possessions, should refer, and the negotiation with France was resumed.

3. Lond. Gazette, April 30, and June 14, 1761.

The epochs named by the British minister were, the first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearness, as she had now hopes of acquiring some important advantage in Westphalia before the close of the campaign. She also agreed, that every thing settled between the two crowns, relative to their particular disputes, should be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be held at Augsburg, for settling the disputes of Germany. And she farther agreed, that the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose, should be signed and ratified before the first of next August.

France even gave up the point of honour, and made frankly an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange; namely, in her final answer, (after certain difficulties had been removed, and certain claims relinquished) to guarantee Canada to England, in the utmost extent required, including as dependencies the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John; to demolish Dunkirk, provided the right of fishing and drying fish on the banks of Newfoundland shall be confirmed to her; to restore Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; to evacuate Hesse, Hanau and Gottingen, provided one settlement in Africa should be guaranteed to her for the convenience of the Negro trade; to remit the settlement of affairs in the East Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in possession of Belleisle, until some equivalent shall be offered and accepted. But she persisted in demanding the restitution of the trading vessels taken before the declaration of war, and obstinately refused to give up Wesel and Gueldres which she had conquered from the king of Prussia.

England, with no less obstinacy, refused to restore the disputed captures, yet insisted on the restitution of those two places. Nor would the British minister, astonishing

tonishing as it may seem, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He rejected the proposal with disdain as an insult upon the national honour; though it would certainly have been more easy for Great-Britain, and no less honourable to mediate, or even purchase a peace for the king of Prussia, in the congress at Augsburg, than to enable him to continue the struggle for Silesia, and defend his widely separated dominions against France, Sweden, Austria, Russia, and the army of the empire. On this romantic idea, however, and the other two contentious points, the negotiation between France and England was finally broken off, when it **SEPT. 20.** seemed ready to terminate in a solid peace, and after it had been protracted considerably beyond the term fixed for signing the treaty.

A rupture with Spain it was readily foreseen, would be the immediate consequence of the failure of this treaty, as the failure itself had been partly occasioned by the suspicions of a secret understanding between the French and Spanish ministers. The poisonous insinuations of the court of Versailles had now produced their full effect upon the mind of Charles III. This sufficiently appeared in the course of the foregoing negotiation. The French minister, along with his memorial of propositions, (dated the 15th of July) had presented to the court of London, a private memorial, signifying the desire of his most christian majesty, that, in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns, and he proposed, with the consent and communication of his catholic majesty, that, the three points in dispute between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negotiation; namely, the restitution of some ships taken in the course of the present war under Spanish colours; the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland;

Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English log-wood-cutters in the bay of Honduras.

The British minister read this memorial with surprise and indignation, and declared on returning it, with that dignity and evenhaughtiness peculiar to his character, that his Britannic majesty would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be considered as an affront, and a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation on the part of France, to make any farther mention of such a circumstance. He at the same time called upon the Spanish minister to disavow the proposition which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expressed his astonishment at seeing a proposal for accommodating disputes between friends coming through the medium of an enemy! to find points of so much consequence offered for deliberation by a French envoy, when his catholic majesty had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of such business had been received!

The court of Versailles condescended to make an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain; but the Spanish ambassador openly avowed and justified the step taken by the French envoy, as entirely conformable to the sentiments of his master. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but those of mutual interest. He applauded the humanity and magnanimity of his most christian majesty, in seeking to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs would permit; and he haughtily added, that, if governed by any other principles, his catholic majesty, "consulting only "his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as "became his dignity⁴."

The meaning of this declaration could not possibly be misunderstood. It evidently appeared, from the most

4. Papers relative to the negotiation with France, and the dispute with Spain, published by authority.

liberal interpretation of the words, that Spain, as a kind of party, was made acquainted with every step taken in the negociation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the proposition, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

A firm conviction of this, is said to have been the cause of that arrogance bordering upon insult, with which Mr. Pitt henceforth treated the proposals of France, and which completed the views of the court of Versailles. The family compact was signed on the 15th of August. From that moment, the French minister changed his tone; and the negociation with England was broken off, as already related, less from any disagreement between the two courts on important points, than their seeming obstinacy in maintaining pretended points of honour.

In the meantime, orders had been sent to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to remonstrate, with energy and firmness, on the daring interposition of Spain in the negociation between France and England, and to demand a declaration of her final intentions; to adhere to the negative put upon the Spanish pretensions to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest the article of disputed captures on the justice of the English tribunals; to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the log-wood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic majesty to cause the settlements on the coast of Honduras to be evacuated, as soon as his catholic majesty should suggest another method by which the British subjects could enjoy that traffic, to which they had a right by treaty, and which the court of Madrid had farther confirmed to them by repeated promises.

Mr. Wall, the Spanish minister, applauded the magnanimity of the king of Great-Britain, in not suffering France to be appealed to, as a tribunal, in his disputes with Spain. In the proposition made, with the consent of
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his court, he declared that things had not been considered in that light; and he asked, whether it could be imagined in England, that the catholic king was seeking to provoke Great-Britain to war in her most flourishing and exalted condition, and after such a series of prosperous events as never perhaps occurred in the annals of any other kingdom? But he refused to give up any of the points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that, in consequence of that harmony, the most christian king had offered to assist his catholic majesty, in case the dispute between Great-Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture, and that this offer was considered in a friendly light.

A declaration less explicit would have been sufficient to convince a minister of Pitt's discernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He accordingly declared in council, that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as spirit to secure to ourselves the first blow; that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her supplies lay at a distance, and might be easily intercepted and cut off, as we were already masters of the sea; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependence, was not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands and disable hers. Such a bold but necessary step, he added, would be a lesson to his catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great-Britain.

The transcendant dignity of this sentiment, so far exceeding the comprehension of ordinary minds, appeared in the form of shocking violence, or wild extravagance, to the majority of the council. They admitted, that we ought not to be frightened from asserting our reasonable demands, by the menaces of any power;

power; but they affirmed, at the same time, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst the springs of government were already overstrained, was ill suited to our national strength; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; that if Spain, misled by the councils of France, should enter in a more decisive manner into the views of that hostile court, it would then be early enough to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced, that we acted with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom was satisfied, that he was not hurried into the hazards and expenses of war from an idea of romantic heroism, but from unavoidable necessity, and would cheerfully contribute to the support of an administration which, though firm and resolute, was afraid alike to waste the national treasure wantonly or employ it unjustly.

These arguments, though plausible, had no weight with Mr. Pitt. He considered them as the timid councils of short-sighted caution, or the captious objections of narrow-minded and selfish politicians, envious of his greatness, and indifferent to their country's welfare. Giving full scope to his pride and patriotism, he therefore warmly exclaimed, "this is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon! and if the glorious opportunity is let slip, we shall in vain look for another. Their united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us in the gulf of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breathe: self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves."

Mr. Pitt in the same council rashly declared, if he could not carry so salutary a measure, this was the last time he should sit at that board. "I was called to the administration of public affairs," added he, haughtily, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct; and, therefore, cannot remain in a *situation* which makes
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me *responsible* for measures I am no longer allowed to *guide*." The sagacious earl Granville, president of the council, coolly replied, "The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him; for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpose are *we* here assembled?" On a division, the minister himself, and his brother-in-law, lord Temple, were the only members of the council who voted for an immediate declaration of war against Spain.

Pitt, conformable to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king; although not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them. But royal favour had, by this time, begun to flow into new channels. OCT. 5.

The earl of Bute claimed a large share of that favour. He had been much about the person of George III. before his accession to the throne; and beside the pleasure of having partly formed the mind of the heir apparent to the British crown, he had the particular satisfaction in so doing of discharging a debt of gratitude to the memory of his majesty's father, Frederic prince of Wales, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed in a very high degree, along with Mr. Pitt and other reputed patriots. Soon after the death of George II. this nobleman was appointed secretary for the northern department: and he now expected, in consequence of the divisions in the privy-council, and the affection of his royal master, to seize the reins of government. The duke of Newcastle, and other ministers of the late king, who had found themselves overshadowed by the superior abilities of the great commoner, also wished his removal; and as HE, the favourite of the people, had found it necessary to form a coalition with them, and to flatter the political prejudices of his aged sovereign, in order more effectually to serve his country, and gratify his own boundless ambition, THEY, in hopes of re-

covering their consequence, yielded in like manner a temporary support to the earl of Bute, supposed to be the bosom favourite of the youthful monarch.

The king, therefore, received the seals from Mr. Pitt with ease and dignity. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behaviour so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears⁵. This was the time for conciliation between the powerful sovereign and his *greatest* subject, if the highest ability to serve the state, although inferior to many in rank and fortune, can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king chose to abide by the opinion of the majority of his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation; settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a year, for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady; he himself declining the honour of nobility, but willing that it should descend to his offspring.

No change in the British ministry ever occasioned so much alarm as the resignation of Mr. Pitt. It seemed equal to a revolution in the government. As the nation, under his administration, had been raised from despondency and disgrace, to the highest degree of glory, triumph and exultation, the most serious apprehensions were entertained, by the body of the people, that it might again sink into the same state of depression, and be overwhelmed by its numerous enemies, since his all-inspiring genius no longer directed its councils; or that an inglorious peace would be patched up, in order to avert the danger of a new war.

But this alarm was soon quieted by the vigorous measures of the new ministry, and the address with which their emissaries drew off the veil from the imperfections

5. Account of Mr. Pitt's Resignation, &c. as published by the two parties.

of the late secretary, whose reputation as a patriot as well as a statesman they endeavoured to destroy. They keenly exposed his inconsistency, and called in question his political sagacity, in so warmly entering into the German contest, against which he had formerly so vehemently and so justly declaimed. They blamed his shameful prodigality, in expending so much of the national treasure in fruitless expeditions to the coast of France, instead of directing them against the remaining French islands in the West Indies; and his inexcusable negligence in not ordering general Amherst to enter Louisiana, which might have been easily conquered, during the last campaign, without sending any additional force to America. And they maintained with some appearance of reason, that his resignation discovered more pride than patriotism. But when they attempted to ascribe all the success of his measures to mere chance, and turn into ridicule his most laudable enterprises, the sentiments of the people revolted against the insult offered to their understanding. And all sincere lovers of their country, whatever might be their opinion of his principles, lamented the loss of so able and popular a minister at so dangerous a crisis; while his friends entered zealously into a vindication of his whole conduct, and severely reprobated the insidious arts of his unworthy colleagues, who had obliged him to quit the helm of state, by thwarting him in his favourite measure, and irritating a temper naturally too hot, and a spirit which they knew could not brook controul.

In changing opinion upon farther experience and good grounds, they ingeniously observed, there was no inconsistency; that all men are liable to error and mistake; and that whatever might have been Mr. Pitt's original opinion of the policy of engaging in the German war, the proposal of neutrality in regard to that war, made by France, in the late negociation, was an irrefragable proof that she did not think herself a gainer by the continental contest, and consequently justified his pursuing it; that the expeditions to the coast of France,
though

though attended with few immediate and positive advantages, had distracted the councils and the measures of the enemy, at the same time that they roused the spirit of the English nation, and had eventually made us victorious in every quarter of the globe; that this spirit, having borne down all resistance in America and the East Indies, was now to have been directed against the remaining French islands in the West Indies, a formidable armament being actually ready to sail for those latitudes; and, if Mr. Pitt had been allowed to commence hostilities immediately against Spain, there was the utmost reason to believe, that we should soon have been in possession not only of Martinico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, but of the mines of Mexico and Peru. In reply, the friends of administration affirmed, that instead of achieving new conquests, he was no longer able to act; that having exhausted the resources of the kingdom, and drawn upon it new enemies, he had deserted his station at the helm, and left the vessel of state to sink or swim amid the storm he had raised⁶.

These disputes, and their anxiously expected issue, engaged the attention of all Europe. The German allies of Great-Britain flattered themselves that the seals would be restored to Mr. Pitt, and expressed their apprehensions of the injury which the common cause might suffer by his resignation; while the Bourbon courts indulged a hope, that his exclusion from the administration would be perpetual, and represented the failure of the late promising negotiation, between France and England, as solely the effect of his arrogance.

The French ministry went yet farther. They industriously circulated the news of a secret treaty between France and Spain, into which they had been driven by the domineering temper of the English secretary. By this alarming intelligence, they presumed that they

6. Publications of the times,

should

should be able to frighten the new ministers of George III. into a treaty of peace on their own terms, or at least to deter them from declaring war against Spain, until her preparations were completed, when such a measure would be more agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid. But they were unacquainted with the character of the men whom they meant to intimidate; so that their vain-glorious boasting produced an effect directly opposite to that for which it was intended.

The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt as secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, or of utterly forfeiting the confidence of the people, had already, with the consent of his colleagues, instructed the British ambassador at Madrid to act with firmness, and now ordered him to require an account of the purport of this vaunted treaty. But all the answer which the earl of Bristol could obtain was, "That his catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his *family compact* "with the most christian king." And as the nature of the present, or the existence of any preceding compact, was then unknown to the English ministry, and to all foreign nations, our ambassador was directed to demand a satisfactory explanation on the subject, and to signify, that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war on the part of Spain. The pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and the earl of Bristol was told, "That the "spirit of haughtiness which dictated this demand, had "made the declaration of war in attacking the king's dignity!" And he was given to understand, that he might return to England when, and in what manner he thought proper.

In consequence of this answer, the earl of Bristol immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde de Fuentes left London. Before his departure, however, the Spanish ambassador delivered to the earl of Egremont a paper in the form of a manifesto, apparently calculated to distract the British councils, by fostering the spirit of faction, already

already too prevalent in the nation. In that paper, after insisting much on the insolence of the late English minister, and the little management with which the court of Madrid had been treated since his resignation, he affirmed, that if the purport of the secret treaty had been desired in a manner less offensive to the dignity of the catholic king, it might as easily have been obtained as it could have been justified, as it contained merely a reciprocal guarantee of the dominions of the several branches of the house of Bourbon, with this particular restriction, (seemingly thrown in to blind the British ministry) that it should extend only to the dominions which shall remain to France after the present war⁷.

But the fundamental articles of the treaty will furnish the best answer to that manifesto, and best explain the nature of the FAMILY COMPACT. By these it was stipulated, that the subjects of the several branches of the house of Bourbon shall be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a participation of the same privileges and immunities over all their European dominions, as those enjoyed by natural born subjects in the countries of their particular sovereigns. The direct trade to America forms the only material exception to this singular community of interests. Nor is the political union made less intimate than the civil.

The kings of France and Spain agree to look upon every power as their common enemy, which becomes the enemy of either; that war declared against the one shall be regarded as personal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces, and observe the most perfect concert in their military operations. And they formally stipulate, that they will not make, or even listen to any proposal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in time of peace as well as of

war, "each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages; and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power." The king of Spain contracts for the king of the Two Sicilies the obligations imposed by this treaty; and the three monarchs engage "to support, on all occasions, the dignity and rights of their royal house, and those of the princes descended from it⁸."

To the boundless extent of these political stipulations, there is but one restriction; namely, that Spain shall not be bound to succour France, when she is involved in a war in consequence of her engagements by the treaty of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the North; "unless some *maritime power* takes part in those wars, or France be attacked by land in her own country⁹." This exception of the maritime powers forms a key to the whole confederacy; as it shews, in the most satisfactory manner, against what power that confederacy is chiefly directed. It points out clearly, though obliquely, to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with Great-Britain is the principal circumstance which is to provoke the enmity of Spain; and to Great-Britain, that her humiliation is the grand object of the family compact.

This compact, which seems at length to have produced that intimate union between the French and Spanish monarchies, so much dreaded at the beginning of the present century, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, (and which, as we have seen, it was the object of the partition treaties and the war of the grand alliance to prevent,) this compact would of itself have been sufficient, as soon as its true purport was known, to justify Great-Britain in declaring war against Spain; a power so intimately connected with her principal enemy, that it was become impossible to distinguish

8. Abstract of the family compact, published by the court of France.

9. Ibid.

the one from the other. And, after the steps that had been already taken, such a measure was now rendered unavoidable. Mutual declarations of war were accordingly issued by the courts of London and Madrid, in the beginning of the year; and the greatest preparations were made by both, for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect.

A. D. 1762. Never had Great-Britain seen herself in so perilous a situation as the present. She was engaged, as a principal, in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and, as an ally, she had the declining cause of the king of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all. As the strength of her victorious navy gave her a manifest superiority over the fleets of France and Spain, an expedient was fallen upon to engage her in a new land war; and, by that means, finally to exhaust her resources, and divert her attention from distant conquests or naval enterprises. This expedient was an attack upon the neutral kingdom of Portugal; a great political stroke, which naturally leads us to take a view of the state of that kingdom.

As Portugal, in some measure, owes to England the perfect recovery of her independency, and the family of Braganza their full establishment on the throne of that kingdom, the closest friendship has ever since subsisted between the two crowns. In consequence of this mutual friendship, founded on mutual interest, England gave a preference in her ports to the wines of Portugal above those of other countries: and obtained, in return for such indulgence, many exclusive privileges in her trade with that kingdom, of which she was considered to be the guardian. Envious of those commercial advantages, and sensible that England would not tamely relinquish them, whatever might be the disposition of his most faithful majesty, France suggested to Spain the invasion of Portugal; as the most effectual means of distressing their common enemy, if not of extending the dominions of the house of Bourbon.

The

The conquest of Portugal, indeed, seemed no distant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, reposing in the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich productions of Brazil, (where gold and diamonds are found in great abundance, and where the most luxuriant crops of rice and sugar may be raised almost without culture) the Portuguese had laid aside all attention to their internal defence. A long peace had utterly extinguished the martial spirit among them; and notwithstanding the increase of their resources, they had suffered their army insensibly to moulder away. The part of it which remained, was without discipline and without officers, and the fortresses on the frontiers were in no state of defence.

Nor were these the only circumstances favourable to the views of the house of Bourbon. Before Portugal had recovered from the shock of the earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins, it experienced a civil convulsion of the most dangerous kind. This was a conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign, and the fifth king of the house of Braganza. Less superstitious than most of his predecessors, he had banished the jesuits from his court; because their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as sovereigns, had opposed the cession of certain territories, which he had exchanged with the king of Spain. He had also spirit and resolution to repress the encroachments of the Portuguese nobles, and to disconcert the ambitious views of the Duke d'Aviro, supposed to have a design upon the crown.

This nobleman, enraged at his disappointment in a favourite matrimonial alliance, by which he hoped to extend his political influence, entered into intrigues with the heads of the dissatisfied jesuits; namely, Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, formerly confessors to the royal family. They encouraged him in his purpose of destroying the king, and engaged in his conspiracy the Tavora family, the most ancient and powerful in the kingdom,

kingdom, also disgusted with the court. The conspiracy failed, contrary to all human probability; and when it was so near taking effect, that the king was dangerously wounded, by a shot through the back of his carriage in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, on the night of the third of September, 1758. He saved his life by returning to his country-house, instead of proceeding to the capital, in his way to which he would have been attacked by new assassins¹⁰. The principal conspirators were seized, and executed in the beginning of the year 1759, and the jesuits of all descriptions were banished the kingdom. But the discontents among the nobility remained. The clergy were not in a better humour. The pope had resented the expulsion of the jesuits; and the body of the people, enslaved by the most blind superstition, made light of allegiance to a sovereign at enmity with the holy see.

Such was the state of the kingdom of Portugal, when the Spanish forces marched toward its defenceless frontiers, and the ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial, (the first fruits of the family compact) in order to persuade his most faithful majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great-Britain. In that memorial, they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers, (but especially in maritime affairs) and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common interest to oppose. And they concluded with declaring, that as soon as his most faithful majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great-Britain. To this extraordinary

10. Account of this conspiracy, published by the court of Lisbon.

memorial,

memorial, the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The king of Portugal's situation was now truly critical, and deserving of compassion. If, contrary to the established connections of his crown, its supposed interests, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brazil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally, and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English navy. Nor was this the worst. Having admitted garrisons into his principal places of strength, the implied condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily lay his account with being reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his independency, an army of sixty thousand Spaniards was ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province.

The firmness of the king of Portugal, on this trying occasion, is highly worthy of admiration. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects; that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from taking part in an offensive war; into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was purely defensive, or entirely innocent: and for this astonishing reason, that the defensive alliance is converted into an offensive one, "from the *situation* of the Portuguese

Portuguese dominions, and the *nature* of the English power!"—The English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruize on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal. "Nor," added they, "could those haughty "islanders insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if "the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands." And after endeavouring to awaken the jealousy of his most faithful majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England, they insultingly told him, that he ought to be thankful for "the NECESSITY which "they had laid upon him to make *use* of his *reason*, in "order to *take* the *road* of his *glory*, and *embrace* the "*common interest*!"

Although the king of Portugal was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable resolution. The treaties of league and commerce, subsisting between Great-Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, the laws of nature, and the laws of nations, have always deemed innocent. And he entreated their most christian and catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great-Britain; and to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there was an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have entered into defensive alliance with the powers at war; that if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and those of his allies. And he concluded with declaring, that he would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than sacrifice the honour or the indepen-

dency of his crown, and afford to ambitious princes, in his submission, a pretext for invading the sacred rights of neutrality¹².

In consequence of this magnanimous declaration, the ministers of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon. And their departure was soon followed by a joint denunciation of war against Por- APRIL 27. tugal, in the name of their most christian and catholic majesties. His Britannic majesty could not view with indifference the danger of his faithful ally, who depended upon him for support, nor prudently avoid acting with vigour in his defence. He accordingly sent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, provisions, and near ten thousand land-forces.

By the help of these additional troops, the enterprising valour of the British officers, and the skilful conduct of the count de la Lippe, (a German general that had acted with ability under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and now commanded the Portuguese army) the Spaniards, who had passed the mountains in three divisions; taken several places, and confidently hoped soon to become masters of the whole kingdom, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning their conquests, and evacuating Portugal before the close of the campaign¹³. In this service, brigadier-general Burgoyne, who commanded the British troops, bore a distinguished part.

Nor did the attention of Great-Britain to the safety of Portugal diminish her exertions or her success in Westphalia. There the French had resolved to make the most powerful efforts; while the Spaniards, in order to divide our strength, should enter the dominions of his most faithful majesty. Their plan of operations was nearly the same as formerly, but they had changed their generals. Broglie was disgraced through the intrigues of the prince de Soubise, who now commanded the army on the Weser, in conjunction with mareschal d'Etrees;

12. Ibid.

13. Lond. Gazette, *passim*.

and that on the Lower-Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé.

The disposition of the allies was not more varied. The hereditary prince was posted in the bishoprick of Munster, with a strong detachment, to observe the motions of the prince of Condé; and prince Ferdinand lay behind the Dymel, with the main body, in order to oppose the progress of the grand French army; to prevent it from entering the electorate of Hanover, and, if possible, to recover the landgraviate of Hesse.

The first service prince Ferdinand performed effectually. He obliged the enemy to abandon Gottingen, the only place which they possessed in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and which they had fortified at great expense. He gained several advantages over them; particularly in the actions at Graebenstein, Homburg, and Melsungen; where the British troops, under the marquis of Granby, acquired signal honour¹⁴. He reduced Cassel, in presence of the three French generals, notwithstanding a defeat which the hereditary prince had suffered from the prince of Condé at Johanesberg; and he was preparing to besiege Zeigenhayn, the last place that remained to the enemy in the landgraviate of Hesse, when he received intelligence of the cessation of hostilities.

While prince Ferdinand was thus exerting himself in Westphalia, with a degree of spirit which made his enemies insinuate, that he had hitherto protracted the war, in order to enjoy its emoluments, the fortune of the king of Prussia wore a variety of appearances, in consequence of certain great and singular revolutions in the affairs of the North.

At the close of last campaign, we have seen the Austrians in possession of Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, and the Russians masters of Colberg, and wintering in Pomerania; so that the dominions of his Prussian majesty, whose forces were much cut down, lay entirely at

14. Lond. Gazette, June 28, et seq.

the mercy of his enemies, who were now in a situation to begin their operations more early than formerly, as well as to sustain them with more vigour and concert. A complete victory, an event by no means probable, did not seem sufficient to save him from utter ruin; when the tremendous storm, ready to burst upon his head, was happily dissipated, by one of those sudden and extraordinary changes in human affairs, which instantly decide the fate of nations; outstrip all human foresight, and confound the reasonings of the wisest politicians.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, second daughter of Peter the great, having died in the beginning of the year, was succeeded in the august throne by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. As they who were most intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the new Czar only could conjecture, whether he would pursue or abandon the political system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned toward the court of Petersburg, in order to observe the direction of his early councils. He began his reign with regulating, on the most generous principles, his interior government. He freed the nobility and gentry from all slavish vassalage, and put them on a footing with those of the same rank in other European countries. He abolished the private chancery, a kind of state inquisition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and extending his benign polity to his subjects of all conditions, he lessened the taxes upon certain necessities of life, to the great relief of the poor¹⁵.

The same mild spirit, which dictated the civil regulations of this prince, seemed to extend itself to his foreign politics. He ordered a memorial to be delivered, in the month of February, to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, that in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia during the war;

15. *Regulations* published by the court of Petersburg.

in hopes, “ that the allied courts will, on their parts, also prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to the *advantages* which they might *expect* from the *continuance* of hostilities—but which they cannot obtain, unless by a *continuation* of the *effusion* of human blood¹⁶.”

This declaration, however, was not made merely from motives of humanity. Beside an extravagant admiration of the character of the king of Prussia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleswick, to which he had pretensions as duke of Holstein. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and he entered, soon after, into an alliance with the illustrious Frederic, without stipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, in order to drive the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march toward Holstein. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The king of Prussia did not fail to profit by this great revolution in his favour. That load of power which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with such unexampled fortitude, being now much lightened, he was again enabled to indulge the ardour of his genius and to act with vigour against his remaining enemies. His first object was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia. And in the attainment of these important ends, MAY 12. he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, who gained a signal victory over the Austrians and Imperialists near Freyberg in Saxony.

In consequence of this victory, prince Henry remained so fully master of Saxony, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a body of troops from their armies

in Silesia, in order to prevent his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Mareschal Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied certain eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that city. The king of Prussia resolved to force him to abandon those posts. And he succeeded; though not by a direct attack, which he found to be impracticable, but by a series of masterly movements, which made the cautious Daun apprehensive for the safety of his principal magazine, and even that his communication with Bohemia might be cut off. He accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz uncovered.

His Prussian majesty immediately prepared to invest that place with a numerous army. In the meantime, different bodies of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated deep into Bohemia; laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread universal alarm. A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

But the gallant Frederic, while conducting with equal spirit and ability, that bold line of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of a new revolution in Russia. Peter III. in his rage for innovation, made more new regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as we have seen, were truly laudable, and seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their

interests. He disgusted both the army and the church, the two chief pillars of absolute sway; the former, by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek communion, having been bred a Lutheran, and by certain innovations in regard to images; but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of the clergy, and an order that they should no longer be “distinguished by *beards*.”

These were high causes of discontent, and threatened the throne with all the violence of civil war. But Peter's misfortunes immediately arose from a matrimonial feud—from the bosom of his own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, (a woman of a masculine disposition and sound understanding, by whose councils he might have profitted) and now openly lived with the countess of Worontzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of shutting the empress up in a convent, and of raising the countess to the partnership of his throne. The dissatisfied part

JUNE 28. of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of that domestic dissention, assembled in the absence of the czar, deposed him formally, and invested Catharine with the Imperial ensigns.

The new empress marched at the head of the malecontents in quest of her husband. Peter was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprise at being told the sceptre was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison; where he expired a few days after, of what was called an *hæmorrhoidal cholic*, to which he was said to have been subject^o. His death,

18. *Manifesto* of the empress Catharine II. on her exaltation to the throne of Russia, as independent sovereign, &c.

by reason of the steps that had preceded it, occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes, dethroned by their subjects, are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly make few their moments of trouble.

Catharine II. since so much celebrated for her liberal polity, began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead: she restored to the clergy their revenues; and, what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards. She conferred all the great offices of state on native Russians, and threw herself wholly on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

The wisdom of this policy was not disputed. But it was feared, by one part of Europe, and hoped by another, that Catharine would introduce a total change of system also in regard to foreign affairs; for the peace and alliance with the king of Prussia were very unpopular measures in Russia. Every thing, in a word, seemed to threaten the illustrious Frederic with a renewal of his former difficulties and distresses.

Fortunately, however, for that heroic prince the new empress, independent of personal regard, did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. She therefore declared to the Prussian minister at the court of Petersburgh, "That she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that she had thought proper nevertheless, to order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania." And although this change, from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality, made no small difference in the state of the king of Prussia's affairs, yet must it be regarded, all things considered, as an escape

escape scarcely less wonderful than the former; especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that monarch.

His Prussian majesty, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, accordingly acted only with more vigour. He attacked marschal Daun the day after it arrived, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror, no less than force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorff, with considerable loss. He next invested Schweidnitz in person; and obliged that much contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations¹⁹.

No sooner did the warlike king find himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia, than he began to turn his eye toward Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and made preparations, which seemed to indicate a design of laying siege to Dresden.

These preparations, and the decisive victory gained by prince Henry over the Imperialists and Austrians near Freyberg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty, for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia; advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets²⁰. Some parties penetrated into the heart

19. *Berlin Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1762.

20. Austrian and Prussian accounts compared.

of Franconia, and even as far as Swabia; ravaging the country, exacting heavy contributions, and spreading ruin and dismay on every side.

In those predatory expeditions the Prussians are supposed to have levied a sum equivalent to a million sterling, two hundred thousand pounds of which were paid by the industrious and free city of Nuremberg. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages; and most others were so disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions, that no prospect remained of their being able to furnish, for next campaign, any army under the Imperial name and authority². The war, therefore, was seemingly left to be finished as it had been begun, by the single arms of Prussia and Austria.

During these transactions in Germany, so favourable to the allies of his Britannic majesty, the British arms were not inactive. The spirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation which the new ministers found themselves under of declaring war against Spain, made them sensible of the necessity of shewing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They accordingly made greater, and more successful efforts than any under his administration, though the supplies fell short of those of last year by one million. Without weakening the army in Westphalia, we have already seen them undertake the defence of Portugal, and defend it effectually. In like manner, without evacuating Belleisle, or abandoning our conquests on the continent of America, they drew troops from both; and, in pursuance of that line of policy which they had always recommended, sent out two powerful armaments, for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West-Indies.

The first armament, which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt, was destined against Martinico; the largest and best fortified of the French windward islands, and the residence of the governor-general. This armament was composed of nine thousand land-forces, headed by general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The fleet came within sight of Martinico on the seventh of January. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort-Royal, the strongest place in the island; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, possession of certain eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it is commanded, (and which were then but indifferently fortified, but gallantly defended) the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes²².

On the reduction of Fort-Royal, which capitulated on the fourth of February, M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side of the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity of the planters of Guadaloupe, under the English government, he was prevailed upon to offer, and obtained, terms of capitulation for the whole island, before the place was invested²³. With Martinico fell Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, the second, and grand armament was ready to sail. Its object was the famous city of Havana, the

22. Lond. Gazette, March 22, 1762.

23. Ibid. April 2.

principal

principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the new world. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand land-forces on board.

These troops were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entrusted to admiral Pococke, whom we have seen distinguish himself in the East Indies. The land-forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle. And the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and was conducted, for the sake of expedition, (with uncommon seamanship) through the old channel of Bahama, arrived in sight of those dreadful fortifications that were to be stormed on the sixth day of June²⁴.

The city of Havana stands near the bottom of a small bay, that forms one of the safest harbours in the world, and which is so capacious, that a thousand ships of the largest size may there commodiously ride at anchor. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouth of that channel, when visited by the English fleet under admiral Pococke, was secured by two strong forts; on the east side, by one named the Moro, and on the west, by another called the Puntal. The Moro had toward the sea two bastions, and on the land side other two, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casements, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which

24. *Letter from admiral Pococke, in Lond. Gazette, Sept. 8, 1762.*

was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions, not in a much better state, a dry ditch, of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has, therefore, been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was utterly impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line; three of which were afterwards sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

But lord Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro; which he considered, and perhaps justly, as the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so much weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with infinite difficulty.

The hardships which the British troops sustained in this service are altogether incredible. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that they could with difficulty cover their approaches; and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors, up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries, disposed along a ridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed,

repulsed, with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them; and the besiegers flattered themselves with a speedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and the labour of six hundred men for sixteen days was consumed in a few hours.

This accident was peculiarly discouraging; especially as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition. Yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering courage, which so remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great-Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately, another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts with as much ardour as if the siege had been but just begun. At length, after conquering numberless difficulties, they got possession of the covered way. They made a lodgement before the right bastion; and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was left open. Though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong: and the brave defence it had made, allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a stimulus to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared themselves for the assault with the utmost alacrity; and mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, supported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards
JULY 30.
were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to the city; the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis de Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in bravely
VOL. V. 3 I endeavouring

endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen; and don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers, in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and Puntal-castle see the besiegers in the possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. These batteries being happily completed, and sixty pieces of ^{AUG. 10.} cannon ready to play upon the Havana, lord Albemarle, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, and make him sensible of the unavoidable destruction that was ready to fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to the last extremity.

Next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect, both against the town and fort, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, in order to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the city of Havana, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government; the Puntal-castle, and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty²⁵. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty, computed at near three millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise, belonging to the catholic king, beside an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

25. *Letters from the earl of Albemarle and sir George Pococke, in Lond. Gazette, Sept. 30, 1762. And the chief engineer's account of the siege.*

This single blow, the greatest perhaps ever struck by any nation, was in a manner finally subversive of the power of the house of Bourbon, by cutting off their resources. The marine of France was already ruined: her finances were low. Spain, along with her principal fortress in the West Indies, had lost a large fleet. And the conquest of the Havana not only gave to England the absolute command of the gulf of Mexico, but put her eventually in the possession of the whole American Archipelago. Porto Rico and Hispaniola only remained to the enemy; and those islands, it was well known, being cut off from all communication with Europe, and utterly destitute of necessaries, would have surrendered on the first summons.

The navy of Great-Britain was superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets: and both might be said to embrace the universe. For her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havana, an armament sailed from Madrass, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish and brigadier-general Draper, for the Philippine islands. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manila, the capital of the island of Luconia, the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South-America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manila, before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared himself, how-^{SEPT. 23.} ever, for a vigorous defence, and rejected with disdain the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops, consisting of two thousand and three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected; an important

tant post was seized; batteries were erected; and every effort was made to reduce the town by force. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British muskets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded²⁶.

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced toward the accomplishment of their enter-
 OCT. 3. prize. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications toward the sea; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was pushed by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both however were repulsed, after a sharp and bloody conflict. A practicable breach, in the works, was at length opened; and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected, that the governor, instead of longer remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal to that purpose was presented. General Draper therefore took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies, about four o'clock
 OCT. 6. in the morning, advanced to the breach at the signal of a general discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russel led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers, (from the different bodies of which the army was composed) supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment, to which he belonged. Colonel Monson and major More followed

26. Draper's *journal* of the siege of Manila, in *London Gazette*, April 19, 1763.

with two grand divisions of the same heroic regiment; next came a battalion of seamen; and the East India company's troops closed the rear²⁷.

All these four bodies behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were instantly driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens; and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders, saved the town from a general and justly merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars was only demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated, at the same time, that all the other fortified places in the island of Luconia, and in all the islands dependant on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty²⁸. The whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manila.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Every where victorious, by land and by sea, in both hemispheres and in all quarters of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she chose to retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without farther subsidies, and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present disabled state. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of tory counsels at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the family compact, lately so alarming to Great-Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

In the midst of our splendid conquests, however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonish-

²⁷ Lond. Gazette. ubi sup.

²⁸ Id. ibid.

ment of every honest Englishman, a negociation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manila was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau; which have generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France or Spain. The cause of a measure so extraordinary deserves to be traced to its source.

George III. the moment he ascended the throne of Great-Britain, determined to abolish, as far as possible, all those odious party distinctions which had so long divided the kingdom, and to extend the royal favour and confidence equally to the whole body of his subjects. This policy, as time has too fully proved, was more liberal than wise; for although the whigs, who engrossed all the great offices of state during the two preceding reigns, had lost much of their popularity by promoting the influence of the crown, they were still esteemed the true friends of freedom, and the natural supporters of the family of Hanover on the throne of these realms. By them chiefly had been brought about the revolution, and by them the establishment of the Protestant succession.

The tories, indeed, by assuming the character of patriots, had frequently been able, as we have seen, to maintain a formidable opposition. But that opposition was considered, by the more moderate and intelligent whigs, as no more than sufficient to keep alive the spirit of liberty, and preserve the balance of the constitution. The first, and also the second George, therefore, always disregarded the arguments of those courtiers, who endeavoured to prove, that they would more firmly establish their sway; by admitting the tories to an equal share in the administration. They reposed all their confidence in the whigs. The shock of two rebellions, ascribed by many to this narrow policy, induced the princes of the Brunswick line to make no alteration in their plan.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt had originally associated himself with the supposed tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt system of sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the whigs. After the resignation of that minister, he occasionally temporized, (though he seems always to have had an eye to the true interests of Great-Britain) and was sometimes reputed a whig and sometimes a tory. But during his own administration, he scorned all party distinctions; and the very names of whig and tory were lost in the blaze of his popularity. Reposing on the affections of his country, the strength and the resources of which he better understood than any other man, he employed men of all parties, and found all alike faithful. He raised whole regiments of Highlanders from among the disaffected clans, and gave the command of some of them to officers who had served under the pretender. Their behaviour justified his confidence. They carried victory whithersoever they appeared, and became the most loyal subjects of his Britannic majesty.

This great man would soon have done away all local and party distinctions; and, while assisted by so able a minister, the resolution of the young king, to lend his countenance to the abolition of such distinctions, as a prelude to a more liberal system of policy, was alike generous and prudent. But on the resignation of Mr. secretary Pitt, the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, who had long been considered as the head of the whigs, endeavoured to revive those factious distinctions, in order to ruin the credit of his rival in power, John earl of Bute, a nobleman of worth and probity, as well as learning and talents, but of a dry humour and reserved temper; and who, unhappily for the quiet of the nation, beside being little acquainted with public business, was a reputed tory, a Scotchman, and a Stuart!

The public clamour was accordingly loud against the *favourite*. But as the duke of Newcastle's faculties, which

which had never been strong, were now much decayed, and his rival possessed the royal ear, he saw his influence in the cabinet daily decline, notwithstanding his great parliamentary interest, his high office, and his importance as the demagogue of the most powerful party in the kingdom. He had accordingly found it necessary, in the month of May, to resign; and the earl of Bute, in consequence of that resignation, was placed at the head of the treasury.

Many of the duke of Newcastle's friends, persons of rank and eminence, had resigned with him. And the new minister, in order to preserve his situation, judged it prudent to deprive others of their employments, and to fill their places with men attached to his person; among whom, especially in the inferior departments, were too many of his own countrymen. He also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of comprehension that had been embraced, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who had uniformly opposed the court during the two preceding reigns, and who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures.

The popular clamour, however, continued; and although the friends of Mr. Pitt did not form an actual junction with those of the duke of Newcastle, both parties were alike hostile to the minister. To one or the other of these two parties belong the whole commercial and monied interest. The earl of Bute was, therefore, soon made sensible of the necessity of resigning, or of procuring peace to Europe; as he must expect to encounter insuperable difficulties, in attempting to raise the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war. From motives of patriotism, as he declared, he chose the latter alternative; and so far as his judgment was swayed by an antipathy against the continental system, he deserves pardon, if not praise. But the great body of the people

ple of England, though not insensible of their burdens, or of the degree of their annual increase, have not yet forgiven him for checking the career of their conquests. They had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from a continuance of hostilities.

Fortunately for the British minister, if not for the kingdom, all things were favourable to his views among the hostile powers on the continent. Disappointed in her hopes of immediate advantage from the family compact, the invasion of Portugal, and the resignation of Mr. Pitt, France was now sincerely disposed to peace. Spain having suffered beyond example, during her short concern in the war, and labouring under the most dreadful apprehensions of future misfortunes, keenly repented of the step she had taken, and wished to recede. Both courts, therefore, saw, with peculiar satisfaction, the progress of the popular discontents in England; and France, in order to profit by them, and recover in the cabinet what she had lost in the field, indicated, through the medium of the king of Sardinia, a desire of negotiating.

The proposal was cordially embraced by the British ministry. And the duke of Bedford was sent over to Paris (after certain discussions) to treat on the part of his Britannic majesty; and the duke de Nivernois to London, on the part of the most christian king. The negociation, which was built upon that begun by Mr. Pitt, with too little attention, on the part of Great-Britain, to the fortunate change of circumstances in her favour, was accordingly soon finished: as no new demand of any consequence was made, and both parties now agreed to withdraw themselves wholly from the German war, and make restitution of all the places they had taken on the European continent. And the preliminary articles, including the interests of both France and Spain, were signed, as already observed, in the beginning of November.

By those articles it was stipulated, "That France shall cede to Great-Britain, Canada in its utmost extent, with the islands of St. John and Cape-Breton, and

“ all that part of Louisiana, which lies on this side of
“ the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and
“ its territory: That the French shall be permitted to
“ fish on the banks of Newfoundland, under certain limi-
“ tations; and that the islands of St. Pierre and Mique-
“ lon, shall be ceded to them for the benefit of their
“ fishery, but without the liberty of erecting forts on
“ those islands: That Spain shall relinquish her claim to
“ fish on the banks of Newfoundland; permit the English
“ logwood-cutters to build houses in the bay of Hondu-
“ ras, for the conveniency of their trade; evacuate what-
“ ever places she may have taken belonging to Portugal;
“ and cede Florida to Great-Britain, in consideration of
“ having the Havana, and all that part of the island of
“ Cuba, conquered by the British arms, restored to her:
“ That the island of Minorca shall be restored to Great-
“ Britain, and the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe,
“ Goree, and Belleisle to France: That France shall
“ cede to Great-Britain the forts and factories she has
“ lost on the river Senegal, the island of Granada and
“ the Granadines, and give up all claim to the neutral
“ islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago.” But
St. Lucia, the most valuable of the neutral islands, was
delivered in full right to France, and the French East
India company were put in the same situation as after
the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the restitution of Pon-
dicherry and other places, with the single exception of
erecting no forts in the province of Bengal. In return
for so many indulgencies, France agreed to destroy the
harbour, and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

These preliminaries were approved, contrary to all
expectation, by a majority of the British parliament, and
A. D. 1763. the definitive treaty was signed at Paris early
FEB. 16. in the following year. About the same time
was signed, at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between
the empress-queen and the king of Prussia; by which it
was provided, That a mutual restitution of conquests,
and an oblivion of injuries should take place, and that
both

both parties should be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities.

Thus, my dear Philip, was terminated, fortunately for the general happiness of mankind, but prematurely for the grandeur of Great-Britain, and without a due attention to her interests, the most active, splendid, and universal war that ever divided the human race; the most bloody between disciplined armies, and the most general in Europe, since that which was closed by the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

POSTSCRIPT.

BESIDE the general dissatisfaction in England, occasioned by the premature termination of hostilities, and the restitution of so many conquests without adequate cessions, it was strongly urged by some popular writers, that the British ministry had committed a still more dangerous error, at the peace of Paris, in the choice of the conquests they had thought proper to retain. “Martinique and Guadaloupe,” said those writers, “would have been found more profitable possessions than Canada and its dependencies. Their produce would not only have augmented the royal revenue, while it increased our shipping, but have given us the command of the sugar-trade of Europe. France ought to have been compelled to make her sacrifices in the West Indies.” It must, however, be owned, that as the war had originated in North-America, and had taken its rise immediately from a dispute between the French and English colonies concerning their boundaries, its grand object on our part, the securing of our American colonies against future encroachments, seemed to be attained at the peace, in the cession made by France of Canada and Louisiana to Great-Britain.

The security of the English colonies in North-America, as well as their extension, was farther provided for, in the cession of Florida by Spain. But that security,

it

it was insinuated, by certain keen-sighted politicians, would prove the source of new evils. It would embolden our old colonies to shake off the controul of the mother-country, since they no longer stood in need of her protection, and to erect themselves into independent states. This insinuation, however, was generally considered as alike illiberal and unjust. And the humanity and generosity of the English nation, amid all the violent discontents provoked by the treaty of peace, found no small consolation in reflecting, that our American brethren would thenceforth be happily exempted from the annoyance of any European enemy, and able to keep the natives in awe.

Nor was this our only consolation. The magnitude of the British empire in North-America, and the prospect of its growth in population and improvement, afforded a wide sweep for the projects of political ambition, and a boundless field for the speculations of commercial avidity. The undivided sovereignty of that vast continent, with the sole enjoyment of its exclusive trade, seemed to open to the citizens of Great-Britain such sources of industry, and channels of naval greatness, as had never fallen to the lot of any other people; and which the immensity of her conquests, and their towering hopes of farther acquisitions, with an ardent desire of finally humbling the house of Bourbon, only could have made them consider as beneath her haughtiest wish.

These conciliatory reflections are offered merely from a love of truth, not suggested by a desire of palliating the justly execrated peace of Paris; a measure that must eternally rouse the keenest emotions of indignation in the mind of every honest and enlightened Englishman. No human consideration should have induced the British ministry to give up Cuba, or to stop short of the reduction of Hispaniola; while our naval force enabled us to protect the one, and to subdue the other; as each promised a prodigious augmentation of that force, and also of the means of supporting it. We ought not to have left the French or Spaniards in possession of a single island in the West Indies:

Indies. Hispaniola and Porto-Rico alone remained to them.

An armament planned in the East Indies, and fitted out in the port of Manila, would have enabled us to become masters of the rich but defenceless kingdom of Peru; and by holding, in the port of Havana, the key of the Gulf of Florida, we might be said to be actually possessed of all the treasure of Mexico. No ship could pass from Vera-Cruz to Europe without our permission, nor any European vessel thither. Deprived of the articles which they had been accustomed to receive from the mother-country, and which are necessary to their accommodation, the inhabitants of New-Spain would readily have submitted to that power, which alone could supply their wants; and which would have offered them the free exercise of their religion, with a more indulgent government, and a more advantageous market for their produce.

But let us moderate our ideas; let us confine our views solely to the places we had positively taken, and we shall find (admitting Belleisle to be equal in importance to the island of Minorca, which it certainly is to France or England) that we gave up at the peace of Paris, without any equivalent, except the sandy promontory of Florida, not only Martinico, Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, but the principal part of the large and fertile island of Cuba, with the Havana its almost impregnable port, the Gibraltar of America! and eventually the rich city of Manila, and the whole range of the Philippines; to say nothing of the situation of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and many other places in the East Indies, with the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa.

If it was necessary to grant some indulgence to France, in order to quiet the jealousy of other powers, (though I am not sensible that Great-Britain, considering her insular situation, had occasion to be afraid of giving umbrage to any European power) France might have been allowed to retain, along with the town of New-Orleans and its territory, her settlements higher on the
Mississippi,

Mississippi, and the province of Canada, confined within its natural boundaries, the four lakes; or if, instead of Canada, she had wished to possess a sugar island, in addition to her plantations in Hispaniola, Martinico or Guadaloupe might have been indulged to her, without the liberty of erecting fortifications. A suspension of the blow hanging over the remaining dominions of Spain in the West Indies, with the provisional restitution of the Philippines, was all that she could reasonably have demanded.

By such an equitable treaty of peace, the haughty family of Bourbon would have been effectually humbled and held in awe, and the sinews of their naval strength so completely cut, as to prevent them from again becoming formidable by sea. By such a peace, England, without farther acquisitions, would have established, beyond the possibility of dispute, that dominion which she has long claimed over the empire of the waves. And have established it forever; by building it upon the keels of a rich and extensive commerce, which the unrivalled command of the ocean, and the produce of the principal islands in the West Indies, would have rendered perpetual.

The apparent cause, why so glorious an opportunity of humbling our ambitious enemies was neglected, has already been assigned:—"the INFLUENCE of *tory counsels!*" alike discernible, whether we regard the *inadequate* treaty of peace, or the *premature* termination of the war. The fatal *effects* of those *counsels* and of that *influence*, I shall have farther occasion to shew, in describing the convulsions, and the dismembering of the British empire; subjects less pleasing to Englishmen, but not less interesting, than its struggles in advancing toward aggrandisement. In the meantime I must carry forward the progress of society, to this grand æra in the HISTORY of MODERN EUROPE.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE DURING THE PRESENT
CENTURY.

I HAVE brought down, in a former letter, the progress of society to the close of the last century. And if we look back on the history of the present, and compare it, as far as it has advanced, with the annals of modern Europe, during any preceding period of the same extent, we shall find much cause to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the social system; which have, with a happy conformity, at once diminished the miseries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reason, after ascertaining the interests of nations and the rights of individuals, has not been able wholly to restrain the ambition of princes, it has at least introduced into the operations of war a spirit of generosity and fellow-feeling unknown to our ferocious forefathers. Persecution has ceased to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to water the earth with the blood of unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen has seldom been disturbed in his industrious pursuits, or ingenious labours, by the ravages of intestine war.

If the most exact regulation of police have not hitherto proved altogether effectual to suppress private violence, or the strict execution of justice, to banish fraud from the transactions of men, both have been rendered less frequent. Property is become more secure. The comforts and conveniencies of life are more equally enjoyed. Pestilence and famine are kept at a distance. Asylums are every where provided for poverty, and hospitals for disease. Private festivities are enlivened by public entertainments. The pleasures of sense, refined by delicacy, are heightened by those of imagination and sentiment; while taste, in contemplating the beauties
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of nature and art, may be said to open new sources of satisfaction to the soul, and to offer new delights to the heart.

And if there are some speculative visionaries, under the name of philosophers, who represent man as more happy in the savage state, that when furnished with all those social enjoyments and elegant delights, their arguments are too futile to deserve a serious answer: and it would be but a just punishment for their impertinence, to shut them out from the pale of polished life; and condemn them to reside among those barbarians, whose manners they affect, and whose condition they pretend to admire.

In support of this representation, my dear Philip, I shall exhibit to your view some leading circumstances, which could not readily enter into the general narration.

Russia, altogether rude and barbarous at the beginning of the present century, has made rapid advances toward civilization. It has experienced the most sudden and fortunate change, of any country of the same extent in the history of human affairs. But that change, as I have had occasion to remark, has not been attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been wished to the body of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a state of slavery. And notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II. who endeavours to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extends encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Russia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners; or by such natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are still in some measure exotics in that great and flourishing empire; not as Raynal insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil is not yet sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itself; and the general progress of

improvement is even now very considerable. Many of the Russian nobility and gentry have acquired a relish for polite literature, and are not only exempt from barbarism, but distinguished by humanity to their vassals, by polished manners and elegant conversation. The citizens have tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecute successfully the mechanical arts. Many valuable cultures, both for trade and consumption, have been lately introduced. And Russia, which has already produced generals and statesmen, will soon, it may be presumed, give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts, sciences, and amusements; and alleviating the inconveniencies of life by its enjoyments; perfect the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where beside other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy, still reigns in all its austerity; where the king is a shadow, the people slaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark have declined in their consequence, as kingdoms; but the sons of the north do not seem to be less happy, though they appear to have lost, with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independency. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made considerable progress among them; and we may lay it down as a general maxim, which will admit of few exceptions, that every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition is altogether servile. Nor are these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden in her Linnæus, who has arranged the animal and vegetable systems, and discriminated the genera and species of each, with all the accuracy of Aristotle, boasts the honour of having given birth to the most profound naturalist in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone less change than any other country of

equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it has been shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse the body of the people have with strangers, in time of peace, by reason of their inland situation, have preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the last century; and the constitution of the empire has varied little since the peace of Westphalia. But agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, have, in the course of the present century, made great progress in many parts of Germany; especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty. There the sciences and the polite arts also have flourished under the protection of the illustrious Frederic, at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms; the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He has collected around him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches have been directed to the most valuable ends. And the generous spirit of the prince who at present fills the Imperial throne, leaves us no room to doubt but the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, will soon be as polished and enlightened as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. The German tongue is already adorned with works of imagination and sentiment; and the writings of Gesner, Klopstock, and other men of genius, have been translated into most modern languages.

The Swiss, so much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil; having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts, now, instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, pour forth their surplus of population upon more wealthy states in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers; and preserve at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient independency and military character. Happy without wealth, they are strangers to luxury. Domestic duties

duties among them supply the place of public amusements, and public virtue conceals the defects in their form of government².

The Swiss are still in possession of all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic: while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of freedom; who acquired its full establishment by greater and more vigorous efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base; dead to all sense of public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The lust of gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevails in Holland. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces. In such a state, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his hoard, or the glutton his meal; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.

Italy has acquired new lustre in the present century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature have been encouraged. If painting and architecture have continued to decline, music and poetry have greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, distinguished from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical

2. The most striking feature in the political character of the people of Switzerland, is that fraternal harmony which has so long subsisted, not only between the inhabitants of the several cantons, which are independent of each other, governed by different laws, and profess different religions, but between the citizens of different religions in the same canton.

personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented; as the airs are all sung by real actors, strongly agitated by the passions they express : whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effects, was sung only by cool observers.

But the Italian opera, even in its *most perfect state*, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical; though I think, very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it, what is believed to have happened in the great theatre of the world. In order, however, to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy; in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical, which would prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio.

The state of society in Spain has been greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. The ladies are no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealousy. The intercourse of the sexes becomes every day more general and easy. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprise, has been revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste is said to have extended itself to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, since the expulsion of the jesuits. If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of
empire

empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would effectually overturn that political hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, that states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, must necessarily tend to decay, and either experience, a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as to excite neither envy nor jealousy.

In France, as I have already had occasion to shew³, society attained its highest polish before the close of the last century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madam de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbe Fenelon, afterward archbishop of Cambray, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and author of the adventures of Telemachus, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the accumulated distresses of the nation. And his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality, that scorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity, that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision; and a spirit of dissipation, which, amid the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greater part of the reign of Lewis XV.

But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not hinder the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights. And their firmness in maintaining both, deserves to be particularly noticed, as it forms one of the most striking objects in the view of society, during the present century.

A furious dispute between the jansenists and jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points in theology, had distracted France in the brightest days of Lewis XIV. Many able men employed their pens on both sides. But the jansenists, supported by the talents of a Nicole, an Arnaud, and a Pascal, had evidently the advantage both in raillery and reasoning. The controversy, however, was not to be determined by such weapons. The jesuits were supposed to be better catholics; and as the conscience of the king had always been in their keeping, the leaders of the jansenists were persecuted, and thrown into prison, or obliged to abandon their country. The jesuits, in order to complete their triumph, and the ruin of their religious antagonists, at length obtained the king's consent (through the influence of father le Tellier, his confessor) to refer the disputed points to the decision of the pope. They accordingly sent to Rome one hundred and three propositions for condemnation; and the holy office, in 1713, found one hundred and one of those to be heretical.

The bull declaring the condemnation of the opinions of the jansenists, commonly known by the name of *UNIGENITUS*, from the word with which it begins, instead of composing the pious dispute, threw all France into a flame. The body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, fifteen other prelates, and many of the most respectable among the inferior clergy, violently opposed it, as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm; as well as an insult on their private judgment. But the king, who was wholly governed by the jesuits, and spurred on to violent measures by his confessor, enforced its reception; and the whole kingdom was soon divided into *acceptants* and *recusants*. The death of Lewis XIV. put a stop to the dispute. And the duke of Orleans, while regent, ordered the persecution to cease, and at the same time enjoined the recusant bishops to accept the bull, accompanied with certain explications. They found themselves

themselves under the necessity of complying. Even the good cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was induced to do violence to his sentiments, in 1720, for the sake of peace.

From that time to the year 1750, the bull *unigenitus* though held in execration by the people, occasioned no public disturbance. Then it was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; and it was ordered that those notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction, could be obtained. And these consolatory rites were refused without pity to all recusants, and to such as confessed to recusants. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and the parliament no less warmly in the cause of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that at Paris; and all clergymen, who refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments, were thrown into prison. The church complained of the interposition of the civil power; and Lewis XV. by an act of his absolute authority, forbid the parliaments to take cognizance of such matters.

These parliaments, as I have formerly had occasion to observe are only the supreme courts of justice, not the states of the kingdom, or proper legislative body: yet have they continued, since the abolition of the national assemblies, to be the faithful guardians of the rights of the people, and to check the despotism of the crown, by refusing to register its oppressive edicts, as well as by remonstrating against them⁴. They have frequently interposed their authority, with advantage, in matters of religion.

4. No royal edict can have the force of a law, until registered in parliament; and although the French parliaments cannot absolutely refuse to register such edicts, if the royal authority be exerted in all its fulness, that is to say, when the king holds personally in parliament what is called a *bed of justice*; yet they may, even in that case suspend the registry some time, and likewise remonstrate against the edict itself. These remonstrances, and their beneficial effects have deservedly gained the French parliaments the highest veneration among the people.

The heads of the parliament of Paris, which has ever stood foremost in repressing both regal and ecclesiastical tyranny, therefore took the liberty on this occasion, to remind the king, That their privileges, and the duty of their station, obliged them to do justice on all delinquents. They accordingly continued in the exercise of their several functions, without regard to the king's prohibition, and had actually commenced a prosecution against the bishop of Orleans, when they received from Versailles a letter *de cachet*, accompanied by letters-patent, which they were ordered to register, commanding them to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of obeying these orders, the different tribunals of the parliament presented new remonstrances; and being referred for answers to the king's former declarations, they had the spirit to resolve, "That whereas, certain evil-minded persons have prevented truth from reaching the throne, the chambers remain assembled, and all other business must be suspended." The king, by fresh letters-patent, renewed his orders, and commanded the parliament to proceed to business; but all the chambers, far from complying, came to another resolution more bold than the former, importing, that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath.

Matters being thus brought to extremity, the king banished to different parts of the kingdom, in 1753, the members of all the chambers of the parliament, except those of the great chamber; and they, proving no more compliant than their brethren, also were banished. New difficulties and disputes ensued. In order to prevent an entire stop being put to the administration of justice by this violent measure, Lewis XV. established by his letters-patent, what was called a *royal chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the letters-patent, constituting that new court, ought to have been registered by the parliament of Paris, which had no longer an existence. To remedy this difficulty, application was made to the inferior court of the chatelet which refused

fused to register the letters in question, even after one of its members had been committed to the bastille, and another obliged to abscond. Intimidated, however, by such a bold exertion of despotic power, the remaining members allowed the king's officers to enter the letters-patent on their register. But they thought proper, on more mature deliberation, to retire from business, leaving an arret on the table expressing their reasons for so doing.

The royal chamber was now the only court of law in Paris. The judges assembled, but they could find no advocates to plead. They were held in universal contempt, and the whole kingdom was filled with such a total suppression of justice, as threatened anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the clergy seemed to enjoy their victory amid the public disorder, and entered into associations for the support of their authority. But the king ceased to countenance them. At length become sensible of their pride and obstinacy, as well as of the evils it had occasioned, he exhorted them to more moderation. He also recalled the parliament, which returned in triumph to Paris, in 1754, amid the acclamations of the people, who celebrated the event with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. And the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conflans. The bishops of Orleans and Troyes were, in like manner, banished to their country seats.

A temporary quiet was by these means produced; but it proved only a calm before a more violent storm. The archbishop of Paris, in retirement, continued his intrigues. He was banished to a greater distance from court. But the dispute in regard to the bull unigenitus, which he had revived, did not subside. The clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power in prosecuting them for such refusals; so that nothing was more common in those distracted times, than to see the communion administered by an arret of parliament!

The king, a second time drawn over to the ecclesiastical side of the question, referred the dispute to the pope. Benedict XIV. though a mild and moderate man, could not retract a constitution regarded as a law of the church; he therefore declared, in a circular letter or brief, to all the bishops of France, that the bull *unigenitus* must be acknowledged as an universal law, against which none could make resistance "without endangering their eternal salvation."

The parliament of Paris, considering this brief as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, suppressed it by an arret or decree. The king, enraged at their boldness, as well as at their refusal to register certain oppressive taxes, resolved to hold a bed of justice. He accordingly went to the parliament on the 13th day of November, in the year 1756, attended by the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed the fourth and fifth chambers of inquest, the members of which had been most firm in opposing the brief. He then commanded that the bull *unigenitus* should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacraments. And he concluded with declaring, that he would be obeyed! Fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day. One hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example, and universal murmurings prevailed in the city and throughout the kingdom.

In the midst of these murmurings, the desperate fanatic Francis Damien, stabbed the king in the manner already related; not, as he declared, with an intention of killing his sovereign, but only of wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the administration of the sacraments at the time of death. What effect this declaration had upon the mind of Lewis XV. it is impossible to say: but it is certain he a second time banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate matters
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with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

But the grand triumph of the French parliaments was to come. The jesuits, the chief supporters of the bull *unigenitus* having rendered themselves universally odious by their share in the conspiracy against the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the lash of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile transactions. They refused to discharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large sum, and who was supposed to act for the benefit of the whole society. As a monk, indeed, he must necessarily do so. The parliaments eagerly seized an opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The jesuits were everywhere cited before those high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the king endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their *INSTITUTE*; or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morals completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their effects confiscated; and the king, ashamed, or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished the order of Jesus in France.

Elated with this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, the French parliament attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. Not satisfied with refusing, as usual, to register certain oppressive edicts, or with remonstrating against them, they ordered criminal prosecutions to be commenced against the governors of several provinces, acting in the king's name, who had enforced

enforced the registration of those edicts. But I must not here enter upon this subject, which is intimately connected with the body of history, and would lead us far into the affairs of latter times.

Notwithstanding these disorders, and the regal and spiritual disposition that occasioned them, the progress of improvement, and the enlargement of the human mind, has been very considerable in France, during the present century. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom, under the reign of Lewis XIV. they have not since greatly declined, and many arts, both useful and ornamental, have been invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving in copper, which has been carried to such a degree of perfection as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper toys; and of counterfeiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye, at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all sorts of gems. The weaving of silk has been rendered more facile, while its culture has been extended; and a culture of still more importance to society, that of corn.

M. Du Hamel, a member of the French academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, has made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which has already been attended with the most beneficial effects. Nor is that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who has turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking particularly distinguishes French literature under the reign of Lewis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns their most important interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. That penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government—its moving principle under all
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its different forms, and the *spirit of laws* in each, has given to political reasoning a degree of certainty; of which it was not thought capable. His countryman, Helvetius, also endowed with a truly philosophical genius, has attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty, into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success.

Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, employs in vain his fine talents to convince mankind that they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude to receive and retain ideas, and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degree in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances. But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride and soften animosities. Nor can his generous efforts to rescue virtue from the hands of jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on the solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, fail to benefit society: or his ingenuity in tracing to motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of physical causes upon the moral conduct of man, to be of use to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the political and moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as a member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human character, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the secret cells of generation, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from a snail and the sheli-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the original imperfection of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; all accompanied with such just and sublime reflections,

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as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

“ Much has been written in this age,” says Voltaire, “ but genius belonged to the last.” Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the *Henriade* is inferior to the *Iliad*, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The *Zara*, the *Alzira*, the *Merope*, are equal in diction and pathos to any tragedy of Racine; and the *Mahomet* is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous *Cinna* of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers; and that he acquired by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally too free, and often of a pernicious tendency in a christian community; yet have they served to promote inquiry, and to enlighten the human understanding. His age of Lewis XIV. his history of Russia, and of Charles XII. of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love of singularity has disfigured his General History with many impertinencies; yet will the stamina remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment. He first connected, with the chain of political and military events, the progress of literature, of arts, and of manners.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. But it is not my purpose to speak of men of genius merely as such, otherwise I should dwell with particular pleasure on the beautiful extravagancies of Rousseau, and endeavour to estimate the merit of his wonderful romance: I mention them only as connected with the progress of society. In this line I am happy to name D'Alembert and Diderot; to whom French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasure of universal science, the *Encyclopedie*.

Marmontel,

Marmontel, who contributed liberally toward that great work, has farther enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner perhaps superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire; and the romances of the son are captivating, but dangerous productions, in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and libertine display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, commonly supposed to be original in his manner. Even the idea of the much admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sepha* of the younger Crebillon.

We must now, my dear Philip, turn our eyes immediately toward our own island. Here arts, manners, and literature, have made great progress since the glorious æra of the REVOLUTION; when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trifling objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning. And the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had grievously offended the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*. These are two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter; the former, an example of close, manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart; the latter, of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley and a St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steel, Vanburgh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less burdensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independency⁵.

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein,

5. The man, who rolling in riches, could make the following unfeeling remark deserves no mercy from the candidates for literary merit, none from the prosecutors of the elegant arts—from the poet or the painter, whatever admiration he may profess for their labours; “*Want of protection is the apology for want of genius. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection; they can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils.*” (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. 1. *pref.* p. vii.) But who is to afford them a subsistence, till they can finish an ingenious work, and what is subsistence without encouragement? without the animating hopes of fame? which in most minds require the fostering hand of patronage, or protection. Hence the more just and generous sentiment of Gray, in speaking of obscure and neglected bards.

“Chill penury repress’d their noble rage,

“And froze the genial current of the soul.”

those

several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *SPECTATOR*; which, by combatting, with reason and raillery, the faults in composition and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanburg, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance. Even the last pieces of Dryden, then considered as models of elegance, are by no means sufficiently delicate in sentiment. Like all the authors formed under the reign of Charles II. he still represents love as an appetite rather than a passion. His celebrated tale of *Sigismond and Guiscardo*, the most pathetic of all his *FABLES*, is not free from this fault.

"Thy little care to mend my widow'd nights,"
says Sigismonda to her father,

"Has forced me to recourse of marriage rites,

"To fill an empty side, and follow known delights.

"Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told,

"Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold—

"Thou hast been young, and canst remember still,

"That when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the will,

"And from the past experience of thy fires,

"Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires

"Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage re-

"quires."

This may all be very natural in the abstract. Women of certain complexions, the slaves of animal appetite, may be under the tyranny of such desires; but they are

surely not common to the sex ; and we sympathize a little with those ravenous and inordinate passions, as we do with an immoderate call for food. In the mouth of so accomplished a princess as Sigismonda, such gross sentiments can only excite disgust. They are alike unsuitable to her character, her condition, and her enthusiastic passion⁶. Dryden knew nothing of the female heart, and little of the heart of man. Having no sensibility himself, he wanted that sympathetic chord which alone could conduct him to the bosoms of others, and enable him to raise correspondent emotions⁷.

Prior's *Henry and Emma* is the first poem of any length in our language, in which love is treated with becoming delicacy ; if we except those of the epic and dramatic kind by Spencer, Shakspeare, and Milton. I cannot forbear quoting the following lines, though perhaps inferior in poetical merit, as a contrast to the sentiments of Sigismonda. Emma speaks :

“ When from the cave thou risest with the day
 “ To beat the woods and rouse the bounding prey,
 “ The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
 “ And cheerful sit to wait my lord's return.
 “ With humble duty and officious haste,
 “ I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast ;

6. The extravagant praise lately paid to this tale by a popular critic, has led me to be thus particular, in order to prevent an indiscriminate admiration, raised by the magic of verse, and supported by such high authority, from corrupting the taste and the morals of youth.

7. A Stronger proof of this assertion cannot possibly be given than in the sorrow of Sigismonda over the heart of her beloved husband ; which, instead of drawing tears of compassion down the most obdurate cheek, as might have been expected, must fill every reader of taste and sentiment with contempt. The heart was in a cup.

.....“ Though once I meant to meet
 “ My fate with face unmov'd, and eyes unwet ;
 “ Yet since I have thee here in narrow room,
 “ My tears shall set thee first afloat within my tomb !”

The

"The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
 "And draw thee water from the freshest spring.
 "My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend
 "On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend!
 "By all these sacred names be Henry known
 "To Emma's heart; and grateful let him own,
 "That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone." }

To Prior we are also indebted for the art of telling a gay story with ease, grace, and levity. He is the first English poet who has united elegance and correctness. His *Alma* is a delightful performance of the burlesque kind; and his *Solomon*, though somewhat tedious for want of incident, has great and various merit. It is a school of wisdom, and a banquet of intellectual pleasure.

Our polite literature, in all its branches, now tended fast towards perfection. Steel freed English comedy from the licentiousness of former writers. If he has not all the wit of Congreve, or the humour of Vanburgh, he is more chaste and natural than either. He knew life well, and has given us in his comedies, as well as in his numerous papers in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, many just and lively pictures of the manners of that age of half refinement.

Rowe, in like manner, purified our tragic poetry, by excluding from his best pieces all grossly sensual descriptions as well as impious and indelicate expressions. Though intimately acquainted with the best models, both ancient and modern, he may be deemed an original writer. His plots and his sentiments are chiefly his own. If he paints the passions with less force and truth than Shakspeare or Otway, he is free from the barbarism of the one, and the licentiousness of the other; and his tragedies abound with so many noble and generous sentiments, introduced without any flagrant violation of the propriety of character or the verisimilitude of nature, that they continue to give pleasure, after half a century, equally in the closet and on the stage. This favourable reception proceeds partly from what has been considered as his greatest fault: he is never sublime in
the

the highest degree, or pathetic in the extreme, but always tender, interesting, and elevating. Terror and pity, the two throbbing pulses of tragedy, are not carried, in his compositions, to a painful excess. His language is rich, and his versification is easy and flowing; but it wants vigour. Like most of our dramatic writers, he frequently violates not only the critical, but the rational unities of time and place, and to the great injury of the general effect of every piece in which such liberty is taken. I have already had occasion to explain myself on this subject in speaking of the plays of Shakespear¹.

Addison's *Cato* has more vigour of versification than the tragedies of Rowe, but less ease. It is, however, a noble effort of cultivated genius; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no womanish tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects both in English and Latin, and is always polished and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great, as a prose writer.

Swift had given perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He wrote the most admired papers in the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has

8. Part II. LET. XIX. There, it was observed, that the scene may be shifted, or, in other words, the place changed, to any distance consistent with probability, and that any portion of time may elapse between the acts, not destructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the representation, or disturbing the dream of reality; but that no such change can be made in the middle of an act without an injury to both, as the chain of emotions must by that means be broken, as well as the connection of ideas, and the spectator left nearly in the same cool and disengaged state of mind as when he entered the theatre, or when the act began.

treated

treated each so happily, it might be thought he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose composition was supplied by lord Bolingbroke; who, in his *dissertation on parties*, in his *Letter to Sir William Windham*, and in his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. It is not possible to carry farther the *beauty* and *force* of our multifarious tongue, without endangering the one or the other. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the sinews of his master; and if Johnson, on some subjects, appears to have more force than Bolingbroke, he is generally destitute of ease. His periods are too artificially arranged, and his words too remote from common use. He writes like a scholar, not like a gentleman: like a man who had mingled little with the world, or never complied with its forms.

What Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished even more fully in verse. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more especially those who had made use of rhyme; not, as has been invidiously insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and classical ear. He seems therefore to have confined his attention chiefly to Waller, Denham and Dryden.

I have not hitherto had occasion to mention Denham. He wrote in the reign of Charles II. but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired.

It

It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflections. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing:

“ My eye, descending from the HILL, surveys
 “ Where Thames among the wanton vallies strays:
 “ Thames, the most lov’d of all the ocean’s sons
 “ By his old sire, to his embraces runs;
 “ Hast’ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
 “ Like mortal life, to meet eternity.
 “ Though with those streams he no resemblance hold,
 “ Whose foam is amber and their gravel gold,
 “ His genuine and less guilty wealth t’explore,
 “ Search not his bottom, but survey his shore.”

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham’s versification, but he saw the necessity of looking nearer to his own time for a master. And he found such a master as he sought in Dryden; who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, has added a compass of verse, and an energy that is entirely his own. Pope accordingly made the versification of Dryden his model. And if his own compositions have not all the fire of the *Alexander’s Feast*, the easy vigour of the *Absalom and Achitophel*, or the animated flow of the fables of his master, the collected force and finer polish of his numbers; a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold imagery, entitled him to all the praise that can possibly belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority; while new flights of fancy, and new turns of thought and expression; more sensibility of heart, and greater elevation of mind, with a closer attention to natural and moral objects, yield him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame. *The Rape of the Lock*, the *Eloise to Abelard*, the *Messiah*, and the *Essay on Man*, are not only the finest poems of their kind in ours, but in any modern language.

If Pope’s versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally confines the sense, and consequently

consequently the run of metrical harmony to the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts and strength to his numbers. It has, therefore, a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when often repeated, and becomes altogether cloying in long poems, but especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself, could not escape the correct taste and keen discernment of Pope. We accordingly find in his translation of Homer, (where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable) as well as in his fanciful pieces, a more free and varied versification often attempted with success. Two examples will be sufficient to set this matter in a clear light; to shew both his manner of confining his sense to the couplet, and of extending it farther, in compositions of a different species.

“ Our humbler province is to tend the fair,
 “ Not a less pleasing, though less glorious care;
 “ To save the powder from too rough a gale,
 “ Nor let th’imprison’d essences exhale;
 “ To draw fresh colours from the vernal flowers,
 “ To steal from rainbows, ere they drop in showers,
 “ A brighter wash,” &c. *Rape of the Lock*, Cant. ii.

“ Thus breathing death, in terrible array,
 “ The close-compacted legions urg’d their way:
 “ Fierce they drove on, impatient to destroy;
 “ Troy charg’d the first, and Hector first of Troy.
 “ As from some mountain’s craggy forehead torn
 “ A rock’s round fragment flies, with fury borne,
 “ (Which from the stubborn stone a torrent rends),
 “ Precipitate the ponderous mass descends;
 “ From steep to steep, the rolling ruin bounds,
 “ At every shock the crackling wood resounds;
 “ Still gathering strength, it smokes; and, urg’d amain,
 “ Whirls, leaps, and thunders down, impetuous to the
 plain:

“ There stops—So Hector,” &c. *Iliad*, xii.

Pope

Pope, in a word, if we may judge by the unsuccessful attempts of later writers, has given to our heroic verse in rhyme, all the freedom and variety of which it is capable, without *breaking its structure* or *impairing its vigour*.

Of the former of these faults, examples are numerous among the poetical successors of Pope; but one, from the writings of a man of genius, whence hundreds might be selected, will serve to illustrate the justice of this remark.

“ And are there bards, who on creation’s file
 “ Stand rank’d as men, who breathe in this fair isle
 “ The air of freedom, with so little gall
 “ So low a spirit, prostrate thus to fall
 “ Before these idols, and without a groan
 “ Bear wrongs, might call forth murmurs from a
 “ stone?” Churchill’s *Independence*.

How much inferior to the bold interrogative of the author of the *Essay on Man*!

“ Who knows but HE, whose hand the lightning forms,
 “ Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms,
 “ Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar’s mind,
 “ Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?”

The latter fault, however, *want of vigour*, is more common in this age of refinement. Even such lines as the following, though easy and flowing, contradict the general character of our language and versification, that of comprehending much meaning in few words.

“ Of that enchanting age her figure seems,
 “ When smiling Nature with the vital beams
 “ Of vivid youth, and Pleasure’s purple flame,
 “ Gilds her accomplish’d work, the female frame,
 “ With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,
 “ And just between the woman and the child.”

Could any one, on reading these much admired verses, discern the propriety of Roscommon’s famous metaphor in speaking of English poetry?

“ The weighty bullion of one STERLING line,
 “ Drawn in French wire, would through whole pages
 shine?”

They

They who aspire at a greater compass of harmony, and who are ambitious of continuing unbroken its winding stream, must throw aside the fetters of rhyme.

Born with a strong understanding, a benevolent heart, and an enthusiastic fancy—with all the powers necessary to form a great poet, Thomson perceived that Pope had attained the summit of excellence in that mode of composition which he had adopted. He was not, however, discouraged. He saw there were other paths to Fame; and by judiciously making choice of blank verse, which was perfectly suited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldness of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildness of his poetical descriptions, he has left us, in his *Seasons*, a greater number of just, beautiful, and sublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the works of all other poets since the days of Lucretius.

Akenside, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of the philosophy of taste, unfolded in all the pomp of Miltonic verse.

And Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and like Akenside, a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a more valuable legacy, in his *Art of Preserving Health*, while he has furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, in the same species of versification, than either the *Seasons* or the *Pleasures of Imagination*. After such profuse praise, it will be necessary to give a specimen of the composition of this truly elegant writer.

“ He without riot in the balmy feast

“ Of life, the wants of nature has supplied,

“ Who rises cool, serene, and full of soul.

“ But pliant nature more or less demands,

“ As custom forms her:—and all sudden change

“ She hates, of habit, even from bad to good.

- " If faults in life, or new emergencies,
 " From habits urge you by long time confirm'd,
 " Slow may the change arrive, and stage by stage;
 " Slow as the shadow o'er the dial moves;
 " Slow as the stealing progress of the year."

While blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish under the prosperous reign of George II. and descriptive and didactic poetry approaching toward perfection, the lighter walks of the muse were by no means neglected. Akenside, not satisfied in rivalling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar; and although he has not equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the sublimity, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves much praise for having given us the first classical examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language, than that containing the character of Alcæus, in Akenside's ode on *lyric poetry*.

- " Broke from the fetters of his native land,
 " Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
 " With louder impulse and a threatening hand
 " The Lesbian patriots mite the sounding chords:---
 " Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
 " Ye curs'd of Gods and freeborn men,
 " Ye murderers of the laws!
 " Though now ye glory in your lust,
 " Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
 " Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful
 cause!"

Collins and Gray have been more successful in imitating the wild enthusiasm of Pindar; though it must be admitted, by their warmest admirers, that the lyric pieces of these two poets owe their celebrity chiefly to a certain solemn obscurity, through which their meaning occasionally breaks, with a degree of poetic splendor that overpowers the faculties of the reader, as lightning is rendered more awful by the interposing darkness of a thunder-cloud. In Collins's odes, however, are found

some

some truly sublime stanzas; especially some sublime stanzas in the ode to *Liberty*, the first in that to *Mercy*, and the first in that to *Fear*. And Gray's *Welch Bard*, examined as a whole, has great merit, whether we consider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

But none of our lyric poets has come so near to the philosophic good humour and good sense of Horace, as Akenside. Nothing can be more happily pursued than the whole train of thinking in his ode on the *Winter Solstice*. After lamenting the destructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus:

- “ But let not man’s unequal views
 “ Presume o’er nature and her laws;
 “ ’Tis his with grateful joy to use
 “ Th’ indulgence of the SOVEREIGN CAUSE:
 “ Secure that health and beauty springs
 “ Through this majestic frame of things,
 “ Beyond what he can reach to know:
 “ And that heaven’s all-subduing will
 “ With good, the progeny of ill,
 “ Attempereth every state below.”

Nor are the Pindaric odes of this poet destitute of dignity, though that dignity consists less in pomp of language than in elevation of sentiment. The character of Milton, in the one on the *Power of Poetry*, addressed to the earl of Huntingdon, is daringly bold.

- “ Mark how the dread pantheon stands,
 “ Amid the domes of modern hands;
 “ Amid the toys of idle state,
 “ How simply, how severely great!
 “ Then turn, and while each western clime
 “ Presents her tuneful sons to time,
 “ So mark thou Milton’s awful name,” &c.

That

That whole ode breathes a noble spirit of freedom;
 "such as," to use the author's own words, in speaking
 of the Muse,

"When Greece to her immortal shell
 "Rejoicing listen'd, God-like sounds to hear;
 "To hear the sweet instructress tell
 "(While men and heroes throng'd around)
 "How life its noblest use may find,
 "How best for freedom be resign'd,
 "And how, by glory, virtue shall be crown'd."

Since I have touched upon this animating subject, I
 must transcribe the opening of Collins's *Ode to Liberty*,
 which has always roused me more forcibly than any
 thing I ever read in any language.

"Who shall awake the Spartan fire,
 "And call in solemn sounds to life,
 "The youths whose locks divinely spreading,
 "Like vernal hyacinths in sullen hue,
 "At once the breath of fear and virtue shedding,
 "Applauding freedom lov'd of old to view?"

The conclusion of the same stanza, containing a
 description of the fall of the Roman empire, is no less
 poetical, but historically false, and consequently of
 dangerous tendency, as it may communicate a wrong
 turn of thinking to the untutored mind.

"No, freedom! no, I will not tell,
 "How Rome, before thy weeping face,
 "With heaviest sound, a giant-statue fell,
 "Push'd by a wild and artless race
 "From off its wide ambitious base;
 "When time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
 "And all the blended work of strength and grace,
 "With many a rude repeated stroke,
 "And many a barbarous yell, to thousand fragments
 broke."

Now

Now the truth is, that long before this event, Rome had not only lost her own liberty, but basely infringed upon the liberties of other nations: and the whole empire languished under the most enslaving despotism. The description, therefore, though consistent in itself, is false in every point of view, as applied to the Roman empire. And freedom, instead of weeping at the fall of Rome, may be said poetically to have assisted the sons of the north, in breaking to pieces that *giant-statue*, or enormous monarchy, in order to emancipate mankind from its degrading dominion and corrupting influence.

About the same time that Akenside, Collins and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verses by Hammond; a man of taste and sensibility, who has successfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and given to his amorous solicitations soft melancholy, entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations.

“ With thee I hop’d to waste the pleasing day,

“ ’Till in thy arms an age of joy was past;

“ Then old with love, insensibly decay,

“ And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.

“ I scorn the Lydian river’s golden wave,

“ And all the vulgar charms of human life;

“ I only ask to live my Delia’s slave,

“ And when I long have serv’d her—call her wife.”

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by a learned and dictatorial critic: for although “ the *quarten* of ten syllables,” in alternate rhyme, is capable of great strength and dignity, though it may be condensed into a solid column, in commemoration of victory, it can also be dilated with more facility than the couplet, into a loose floating veil of mourning, or breathed into a tremulous symphony of fond complaint. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence, but particularly

particularly by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Church-Yard*, and by Shenstone in those excellent moral elegies, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart, and form so severe a satire on his want of economy.

Shenstone deserves to be here mentioned on another account. He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted; and which, if not altogether *pastoral*, is exceedingly *pleasing*. It is, indeed, without a pun, *something better*: it represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect, it does not differ essentially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not have been ashamed to have owned the following elegant lines:

- “ Can a bosom so gentle remain
 “ Unmov’d when her Corydon sighs?
 “ Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
 “ Those plains and this valley despise?
 “ Dear regions of silence and shade!
 “ Soft scenes of contentment and ease!
 “ Where I could have happily stray’d,
 “ If aught in her absence could please?
 “ But where does my Phillida stray?
 “ And where are her grotts and her bowers?
 “ Are the groves and the vallies as gay,
 “ And the shepherds as gentle as ours?
 “ The groves may perhaps be as fair,
 “ And the face of the vallies as fine;
 “ The swains may in manners compare,
 “ But their love is not equal to mine.”

This zealous and continued attention to the improvement of our poetry, in its various branches, did not prevent imagination and sentiment from flowing in other channels. A classical form was given to the *comic romance* by Fielding and Smollet, who have painted:

painted modern manners with great force of colouring, as well as truth of delineation, and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and satire.

Richardson, no less classical, created a new species of fiction, which may be called the *Epic of Civil Life*; as it exhibits, in an extended and artfully constructed fable, and in a variety of strongly marked characters, under the influence of different passions, and engaged in different pursuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanness and deformity of vice, without any ludicrous circumstance, or display of warlike exploits.

The principal productions of these authors, under the well-known names of *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, *Sir Charles Grandison*, *Clarissa*, and *Amelia*, seemed for a time wholly to occupy the attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. But the histories of Robertson and Hume appeared, and romances were no longer read. A new taste was introduced. The lovers of mere amusement found, that real incidents, properly selected and disposed, setting aside the idea of utility, and real characters delineated with truth and force, can more strongly engage both the mind and heart, than any fabulous narrative. This taste, which has since given birth to many other elegant historical productions, fortunately for English literature, continues to gain ground.

9. *Lovelace*, the principal male character in this celebrated romance, is evidently a copy of Row's *Lothario*, in the *Fair Penitent*. This Dr. Johnson owns, but adds, that the imitator "has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. *Lothario*, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be despised, retains too much of the reader's kindness. It was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once *caution* and *detestation*." But Dr. Beattie, another formidable critic, and the friend of Dr. Johnson, is of a very different opinion. "*Richardson's Lovelace*," says he, "whom the reader ought to abominate for his crimes, is adorned with youth, beauty, eloquence, wit, and every intellectual and bodily accomplishment; is there not then reason to apprehend some readers will be more inclined to admire the gay profligate, than to fear his punishment?" So contentious a science is criticism!—and so little reference have the opinions of the learned, in matters of taste, to any common standard!

I must

I must now carry forward the progress of arts and of manners, and of those branches of polite literature that are most intimately connected with both.

The premature and unexpected death of queen Anne, was friendly to the protestant succession: for it is certain she intended, as I have had occasion to show, that her brother should fill the British throne. What might have been the character of the reign of James III. it is impossible decidedly to say, as he was never invested with the administration. But there is great reason to believe, from his superstitious bigotry, that his government would neither have been favourable to civil nor religious liberty. The reign of George I. was favourable to both, though little indulgent to genius. Unacquainted with the beauties of our language, and utterly destitute of taste, like most of his countrymen in that age, this prince paid no attention to literature or the liberal arts. Literature, however, made vigorous shoots by the help of former culture and soil; but manners experienced a woeful decline, and the arts made no advance.

In consequence of the timid, but prudent policy of that reign, the martial spirit was in a manner extinguished in England. The heads of the tory faction kept at a distance from court, as in the reign of William: and truth obliges me to declare, that the tories have always been the most munificent patrons of genius, as well as the most accomplished gentlemen in the kingdom. The ministers of George I. were whigs. Many of them were little better than money-brokers, and the South-Sea scheme made them stock-jobbers. The rapid revolution of property occasioned by that scheme; the number of ancient families ruined, and of the new ones raised to opulence, broke down the distinction of ranks, and gave rise to a general profusion, as well as to an utter disregard of decency and respect.

The corrupt administration of sir Robert Walpole, in the early part of the reign of George II. when every man's virtue was supposed to have its price, contributed still farther to dissolve the manners and principles of the nation;

nation; while the thriving state of manufactures, and a vast influx of money by trade, produced such a deluge of intemperance among the common people, that the parliament was obliged to interpose its authority, in order to restrain the inordinate use of spiritous liquors. And after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, military force was often necessary to suppress the licentiousness of riot; which under pretence of want, occasioned by dearth of provisions, but really in the wantonness of abundance, long distracted the whole kingdom.

The war which was begun in 1755, united all hearts and all hands in opposing the common enemy. In the course of that glorious war, at first so unpropitious, the relaxation of manners totally disappeared. The national spirit recovered its tone. Wisdom was found in the cabinet, and ability displayed itself both in the senate and the field. Military ardour rose to heroism, and public virtue to the utmost height of patriotism. And although the peace of Paris did not procure us all the advantages we had reason to expect, it yet left the British empire great and flourishing; with trade considerably augmented; territory immensely extended; and a numerous body of brave and industrious people, employed in supplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of husbandry.

In times of such great national prosperity, it might be expected that public spectacles would be numerous and splendid, and that the liberal arts, though neglected by government, would be encouraged by the public, and patronised by opulent individuals. This was literally the case. Beside a magnificent Italian opera, the capital supported two English theatres, and those theatres were well supplied with new pieces, the profits of which amply recompensed the labour of their authors.

The comedies of Steele were followed by those of Cibber, who has given us, in his *Careless Husband*, a finished picture of polite life. The formal style, and sententious morality of Addison's *Cato*, in a smaller or greater degree, distinguish all the tragedies of Thompson.

The Tragedies of Southern and Young are more impassioned, though in other respects no less faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breast, has some exquisitely pathetic scenes. But his stories are too uniformly distressing; and *Oroonoko*, his best piece, is interlarded with low comedy. *Isabella*, written in the reign of George I. has fewer faults, and fewer, yet many beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed.—Young's *Revenge* has great merit. The fable is well constructed, the style is easy and animating; the characters are strongly marked, and the poetic spirit is supported throughout the piece. But it has few of the genuine charms of nature, and too many of those *terrible graces*, which have drawn upon our stage the imputation of barbarism.

The history of the stage is a subject of great philosophical curiosity; as it is, in every nation, intimately connected with the history of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is something to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curiosity. Our tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, seemed to have had a very imperfect notion of their business. As they could have little opportunity to observe the motions, and still less to hear the discourse of royal personages, especially on great and momentous subjects, or while under the influence of strong passions, they had recourse to imagination; and gave to all the speeches of such exalted characters, and by habit to those of every character, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony; which had small resemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a strutting stateliness of gesture, that was altogether preternatural, but which they mistook for majesty. To acquire only the *tread of the stage* was a work of years.

But no sooner did Garrick set his foot upon the theatre than this difficulty vanished. Having a sound judgment, a just taste, and keen sensibility, with a discernment so acute as to enable him to look into the inmost recesses of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of lustre a fine ear; a musical and articulate voice, with

with uncommon power to modulate it to every tone of passion, he rose at once to the height of his profession and taught the sympathising spectators, that kings and heroes were men, and spoke, and moved, and felt, like the rest of their species. Other players followed his easy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical representation.

This new style of acting introduced a new taste in writing. Instead of the rant and fustian of Dryden and Lee, which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his disciples displayed their bewitching power of moving the passions chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakspeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. And Aaron Hill, a great promoter of natural playing, having adapted to the English stage several of the elegant and interesting tragedies of Voltaire, gave variety to theatrical exhibitions. In the *Zara* and the *Merope* he was particularly successful. Originals were composed in the same just taste. Among these, we still see with pleasure the *Gamester*, *Douglas*, and *Barbarossa*. The *Elfrida* and *Caractacus* of Mason, and the *Medea* of Glover, are equally pregnant with nature and passion. Written in imitation of the Greek drama, and worthy of the Athenian stage, they have all been represented on that of London with applause; but they have not yet made us converts to the ancient manner.

The genius of Garrick as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no less excellent; and his taste, and his situation as a manager, enabled him to draw to light several neglected pieces of great merit. The comic muse, however, was backward in her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the *Suspicious Husband*, and Foote those inimitable *sketches of real life*, which were so long the delight of the town, and have justly gained him the name of the English Aristophanes. At length Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandestine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance

elegance of Terence, and our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species of comedy has since been imported from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances are blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West-Indian*, are precious pieces in this new taste.

Besides its connection with manners and literature, the stage has an intimate alliance with painting and music. Of this alliance the English stage has not failed to take advantage, or that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole scenery is perhaps superior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, and also our theatrical wardrobe, as our dresses certainly are better adapted to the characters which the actors represent. The *costume* is presented more perfectly on ours than on any other stage¹⁰.

The effect of our landscapes and sea-pieces, by the power of perspective, and *extrinsic* help of *illumination* and *obscurity*, is equal if not superior to that of nature; and these enchanting scenes, in conjunction with music and dancing, give to the *mute drama* an illusive charm, a deception that is altogether necromantic.—A word here of dancing.

The art of dancing has of late been carried to great perfection among us, as well as among our neighbours on the continent; so as not only to keep time to music in graceful motion, but to be at the same time expressive of a series of action, and a fluctuation of passion. As human beings, however, endowed with the distinguishing faculty of speech, let us not set too high a value upon this light-heeled corporeal language, which it is possible to teach even so rude an animal as a bear; and in which, as far as it is mimetic of hunting or war, its two favourite subjects, an American savage is infinitely

10. This beautiful propriety, which gives so much truth to good acting, we owe chiefly to the classical taste and enlightened understanding of Garrick.

more perfect than Slingsby, Vestris, or Heinel. Theatrical music deserves more attention.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our first successful musical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is said to have been written in ridicule of the Italian opera; though I am fully persuaded the author foresaw the pleasure the *comic opera* would afford to an English audience, independent of that circumstance, and only called in the contrast of character, in order to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burlesque had been his chief object, he would have made Macheath and all his gang warble Italian airs.

Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his songs to *native* tunes. These tunes had all been heard by most of the audience in early life, when the mind was free from care; in the scenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or reposed in the luxury of infantine passion; while reason was lost in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illusions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled some agreeable feeling, or former happy state of mind. The effect of the music was accordingly altogether magical; and it would have been still greater, if the airs had been sung by persons whom the audience could have loved or respected. But as this was not the case, the *Beggar's opera*, in consequence of its musical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. It served to dignify the character of a highwayman, and to familiarise, and even to reconcile the mind to such flagitious scenes as ought ever to be held in distant abhorrence; the nocturnal orgies of robbers, whores, and thieves: their levity in the cells of Newgate, and their indifference at the prospect of ignominiously paying the debt of justice on *Tyburn-tree!*—Nor was this all. The author, by putting into the mouths of such wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of some of our most admired love-songs, threw

threw a stronger ridicule upon genuine passion and virtuous tenderness than upon the Italian opera.

Notwithstanding the great success of this musical piece, we had no other comic opera of any merit for many years. The singularity of the subject, and the continued applause paid to the *Beggar's Opera*, deterred imitation and precluded rivalry. In the meantime the famous Handel, who had quarrelled with the proprietors of the opera-house, brought on the English stage a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the whole musical world. But the *Oratorio*, which has already lost its hold of the public taste, has so many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, as must forever prevent it from being in general request. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, scenery, nor characteristical dresses.

Dr. Arne, sensible of the imperfections of the *Oratorio* attempted to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the *serious opera*. With this view, he set to excellent music, and brought upon the English stage, a translation of the *Artaxerxes* of Metastasio; which was received with the most enthusiastic applause, and is still a favourite performance. Yet, extraordinary as it may seem, we have no other serious opera that is so much as tolerated. Musical tragedy is happily little suited to the general taste of an English audience, which requires a more masculine composition.

Our musical comedy has made greater progress. It hath been much refined and improved, by the exclusion of profligate manners, and by judiciously intermixing scenes of sentiment with those of humour; as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and some other pieces of a similar kind, which have deservedly met with a favourable reception. Even these, however, appear to be losing ground. Many of our comic operas are already transformed into after-pieces, and as such they will always please.

Since

Since the charm of novelty has ceased, the good sense of the people of England seems still to require a standard comedy or tragedy, as their principal theatrical dish:—and music has other walks to occupy. The grand concerts in the capital, and in every considerable town in the kingdom, afford ample scope to native composers; whilst the opera-house, or Italian theatre, calls forth all the talents of foreign masters, as well as all the powers of execution, both vocal and instrumental, by the most liberal rewards, for the entertainment of the nobility and gentry.

The advances of the other arts, considered as elegant, in England, during the present century, opens a wide field for investigation, at which I can only glance. Nor am I required to enter deeply into it by my subject; a general view of improvement being the sole purpose of this letter. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts, I have already carried forward by anticipation, in tracing the progress of commerce¹¹; though perhaps I have not been sufficiently particular in some articles, such as the great perfection to which the printing of linnen and cotton cloths has been carried, so as to surpass in beauty those of India; or of paper for the lining of rooms, which has been taught to imitate velvet and satten, and even to rival tapestry. Nor ought I to omit the taste and fancy displayed in the paterns of our figured silks; or in our carpets, which vie with those of Persia in fabric, equal them in lustre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

Our sepulchral monuments, at the close of the last century, were mere masonry, and executed in a very bad taste. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no sculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and employed himself chiefly on portraits. Rysbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who have since adorned Westminster-Abbey with many sculptured monuments worthy of ancient Greece, also were foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

Inigo Jones found a successor not unworthy of himself, in sir Christopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's and of St. Stephen's Walbroke; exclusive of his other great designs—of that of Greenwich hospital or the additions to the palace of Hampton court.

Wren was succeeded by the classical lord Burlington, a liberal patron of the arts, and no contemptible professor, and by the ponderous but inventive Kent; whose plan of Holkham, the seat of the earl of Leicester in Norfolk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens, if he had designed nothing else, would entitle him to a distinguished rank among modern architects. But Kent has been greatly surpassed, in architecture, by sir William Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others, who have adorned the capital and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the purest taste of antiquity: who have united elegance with conveniency, and lightness with solidity. Nor should Milne be forgot, to whom we are indebted for Blackfriar's-bridge, a work to which antiquity can offer no parallel¹².

We have at present native statuaries of considerable merit. But Bacon and Nollikens have yet produced nothing equal to the Hercules of Rysbrach; Scheemaker's Shakspeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac¹³.

12. Westminster bridge, not perhaps less noble, though surely less elegant, was executed after the plan of a Frenchman.

13. Of these celebrated statues, the most excellent is the Hercules, compiled from various parts of the body and limbs (which the sculptor supposed to be most truly formed) of seven or eight of the strongest and best made men in England, chiefly champions in the amphitheatre for bruising, under the protection of the late duke of Cumberland. The Newton of Roubiliac has also great merit; but Mr. H. Walpole thinks the "*air is a little too fert for so grave a man.*" But Mr. Scott, a man of taste and genius, is of a very different opinion.

"Behold! (a prism within his hands)

"*Absorb'd* in thought great Newton stands,

"Such was his brow and *look serene*,

"His *serious gait* and *mus'ing mien.*"

ODE TO SCULPTURE.

Hogarth,

Hogarth, the first eminent English painter, if we except Scott, who excelled in sea-pieces, may be said to have formed a new school. Above the Flemish comic painters, who servilely copy *low life*, or debase it into farce, and below the best Italian masters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature, as far as it was possible for men degraded by civil and religious slavery, He delineates, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpose. They who are in doubt about this matter, need only consult his *Harlot's Progress*, his *Rake's Progress*, his *Marriage a la Mode*, and his *Stages of Cruelty*.

But Hogarth knew nothing of the elegance of design, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. These were reserved for English painters of a higher order. As the most excellent of those are now living, I shall not enter into a particular estimate of their merit; but observe, in general, that if they have not attained all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and strength of expression, to be found in the greatest Italian masters, they have made ample amends by the judicious choice of their subjects. Instead of crucifixions, flagellations, last suppers, and holy families, they have given second life to heroes and legislators. They have made public virtue visible in some of its most meritorious acts: they have painted as became the sons of freedom. Nor need I be afraid to affirm, that Copley's *Earl of Chatham*, West's *Departure of Regulus*, his *Pennsylvania Charter*, and his *Death of Wolfe*, to say nothing of Reynolds's *Ugolino*, fill the mind with nobler ideas, and awaken the heart to more generous emotions, than were ever communicated by the pencil of any slave that kneeled at the altar of superstition¹⁴.

Fortunately

14. "Since affections of every kind are equally within the painter's power," says Quintilian, "it is of great importance that he apply himself to excite only such as are subservient to good morals." (*Inst. Orat.* lib.

Fortunately for the lovers of embellishment, engraving, of which painting may be said to be the prototype, has not made less progress in England during the present century than the parent art. Historical pictures can only become the property of the rich and great. And they are very liable beside to be injured by time or accident. Hence the utility of engraving in plates of copper. It multiplies copies at a moderate price; and its representations, if less perfect than those of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our own capital paintings, and also of most of those of the greatest Italian masters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we must ever place Strange and Woollet. The first excels chiefly in copying human figures, the latter in landscape. They have both, at present, several formidable rivals in every branch of the art, and the late unhappy Ryland was perhaps equal to either.

We have yet another flourishing art, deservedly considered as liberal, and which is of English origin, unless we should allow the Chinese to come in for a share of the honour of the invention; namely, MODERN GARDENING, or the art of *painting a field* with natural and artificial objects, disposed like colours upon a canvas. For this art, which was altogether unknown to the ancients, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us to *imitate* nature, or more properly speaking, *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure-grounds,

xi.) And Aristotle, amongst other instructions, gives it in charge to the governors of youth "that they allow them to see no pictures but those " which have such moral tendency." (*Polit. lib. viii.*) The reason of this caution is founded in the depths of philosophy, in an equal knowledge of human nature, and the influence of the arts; for there can remain no doubt, that whatever addresses itself immediately to the eye by an *actual representation* of objects, must *affect* the youthful mind, and indeed all minds, but especially the least cultivated, more than any form of words, or combination of articulate sounds, significant of ideas merely by convention. Yet we are told by a noted connoisseur, "that pictures cannot adopt themselves " to the meanest capacities, as unhappily the tongue can."

Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. i. pref. p. x.

instead

instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art; he taught us, that the perfection of gardening, consists in humouring and adorning, not in constraining or disguising nature; consequently that straghit walks, regular parterres, circular and square pieces of water, and trees cut in the shape of animals, are utterly inconsistent with true taste. In a word, the whole secret of modern gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery; wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture; so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground, and in judiciously veiling and exposing the surrounding country: in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower; the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with Nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

Milton seems to have had a distinct idea of this kind of gardening, as far as it regards the particular spot.

“ Through Eden went a *river large*;
 “ Nor *chang'd* his course, but *through the shaggy hill*
 “ Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
 “ That mountain as his garden mound, high rais'd
 “ Upon the rapid current,—which through veins
 “ Of porous earth, with kindly thirst updrawn,
 “ Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
 “ Water'd the garden.

“ From that *sapphire fount* the *crisp'd brooks*,
 “ Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 “ With mazy error, under pendent shades,
 “ Ran nectar; visiting each plant, and fed
 “ Flowers worthy of paradise; which not nice art
 “ In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
 “ Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain;
 “ Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
 “ The open field, and where the unpierced shade
 “ Imbrown'd the noon-tide bowers.”

This is certainly, to use the poet's own words, "a happy rural scene of *various view*¹⁵." But Milton, like all the gardeners of his time, or of those which had preceded it, confines his paradise within high boundaries, and consequently excludes distant and rude prospect, the grand charm in modern gardening; for

" the *champaign head*

" Of a *steep wilderness*, whose hairy sides

" With thicket over-grown, grotesque and wild!

" *Access denied; and overhead up grew*

" *Insuperable height of loftiest shade,*

" Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm."

The man who first threw down the garden-wall, and sunk the fosse, whether Kent or Bridgeman, may be truly said to have broke the spell that enabled the necromancer Art to hold the fair damsel Nature so long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itself with utility, and grandeur with rustic labour; the pleasure-ground with the pastured and cultivated field, the gravel-walk with the public road, and, the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the sea; that glorious fountain of universal communication among men, which enables the philosopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to visit every shore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus successfully employed in extending the circle of the arts, and in embellishing external nature, science was not neglected: they were not inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or

15. The resemblance of Milton's *Eden* to a garden laid out in the modern taste, was first noticed by the late penetrating lord Kaimes, in chap. xxiv. of his *Elements of Criticism*, printed in 1762. "Milton," says he, "justly prefers the grand taste to that of regularity;" and he quotes part of the above extract, in confirmation of his remark. Yet Mr. H. Walpole, in retailing the same observation, almost twenty years later, seems to assume to himself the merit of it, and to congratulate himself, as if he had been making an important discovery.

the operation of the human mind. Locke and Newton have had their successors, as well as Dryden and Milton. Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars: while Maclaurin made great progress in algebra, and Gregory reduced astronomy to a regular system. These men of genius have been succeeded by very able mathematicians; but the æra of discovery in mathematics seems to be past. More advance has been made in other sciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable system of Tull has led to the greatest improvements in agriculture; and the bold discoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be said to have given birth to a new science. With the purpose to be served by many of those discoveries, which at present so strongly engage the attention of philosophers, we are yet as much in the dark as in regard to the electric principle itself. But the beneficial effects of electricity in many medical cases, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ships are preserved from the destructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice in a view of the progress of society, should it even otherwise disappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the successors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the first place. Not that his metaphysical inquiries are more acute than those of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but that his discoveries, like those of his great master, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of universal application in science, and closely connected with the leading principles of the arts. His beautiful analysis of the ASSOCIATION of IDEAS, which he comprehends, under three general heads, namely, *resemblance*, including contrast, *contiguity* in time or place, and cause or *effect*. And his ingenious *theory of the passions*, or the COMMUNICATION of EMOTIONS, immediately laid the foundation of that PHILOSOPHY of the FINE ARTS, which was afterward formed into a system by lord Kaimes, in his *Elements of Criticism*, and which has since been illustrated by many elegant writers

But

But none of those writers has illustrated the principles of Mr. Hume so happily as himself. They may be said indeed, only to have written commentaries on his illustrations. One example will justify this remark. The subject is *unity of action*, about which all critics, after Aristotle, had talked so much, and to so little purpose, while they directed not their *taste* or *sentiment* by the *accuracy of philosophy*. “It appears,” says he, “that in all productions, as well as the epic and tragic, there is a certain UNITY required, if we would produce a work which will give any lasting entertainment to mankind. An annalist or historian, who should undertake to write the HISTORY OF EUROPE, during any century, would be influenced by the *connection of contiguity in time and place*. All events, which happen in that portion of space, and period of time, are comprehended in his design, though in other respects different and unconnected. They have still a species of *unity* amid all their *diversity*. But the most usual species of *connection*, among the different *events* which enter into any *narrative composition*, is that of *cause and effect*; while the historian *traces the series of actions* according to their *natural order*, remounts to their *secret springs* and *principles*, and *delineates* their most *remote consequences*.”

If Mr. Hume was happy in illustrating his metaphysical system, he was yet more successful in exemplifying it. His moral, political, and literary essays, are perfect models of philosophical investigation. He is altogether logical, without the logical forms: he unites the plain perspicuity of Locke to the synthetic precision of Wollaston and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reasoning to the utmost point of perfection, has endeavoured, by sceptical doubts, to destroy the certainty of all reasoning, and to undermine the foundation of both natural and revealed religion. His attack upon the latter leads to a very curious and important inquiry; “the State of Christianity in England during the Present Century.” I shall endeavour

vour to trace the outlines of this subject, by way of termination to this view of the progress of society.

That general toleration, which was the immediate consequence of the revolution, gave birth to the great freedom of discussion relative to religious matters. The crowd of sectaries, no longer held together by the common bond of persecution, or restrained by fear from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, entered into a bold investigation of the sublime mysteries of christianity. And the apostles of each sect keenly censured the tenets of all who presumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numberless disputes were hotly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational christian.

But this pious warfare was not sufficient to keep alive the fervour of zeal, either in the church or among the dissenters, in a state of unlimited liberty of conscience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened sectaries seemed ready to join the hierarchy; when certain fiery spirits, filled with indignation of such lukewarmness, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new sects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, in order to prevent the utter desertion of their followers. Whitfield and Wesley in England, and the two Erskines in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthusiasm, which raged, for a time, with dazzling brightness, in spite of the utmost efforts of reason and ridicule. But the fuel of persecution, the stake and the faggot being happily withheld, it has now in a great measure spent its force. Nor have the methodists yet been able to number one martyr among the multitude of their saints.

The spirit of infidelity (as it always will, in an enlightened age) kept pace with that of enthusiasm. As many of the wilder sectaries laid claim to divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophesy, some men of sceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *suspicion*, and even to destroy the *credibility* of all *prophecy*;

cy; while others called in question the *authenticity* of the *sacred books*, both historical and prophetical. At the head of those sceptical writers, and the most dangerous because the most agreeable, may be placed Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal, in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, denied the *necessity* of the *Gospel*; as it promulgated, he affirmed, no principle or precept with which mankind were not formerly acquainted. Hume, in his *Essay on Miracles*, struck directly at its foundation, by attempting to show that no *human testimony* is *sufficient* to establish the *reality* of a *miracle*. And an author, no less able or learned than either, has written an *historical deduction*, to prove christianity to be of *human origin*.

But these rude attacks have only served more firmly to establish true religion, while they have given a severe check to enthusiasm. They have led divines to examine minutely into the proofs of revelation, and made them sensible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the mysteries in the christian system; especially that of the trinity, the incarnation of the word, and the miraculous influence of grace upon the human soul. The consequence has been, that all men of *sound minds* and *good morals*, conform outwardly to the religion of their country, and most of them *sincerely believe* it to be of *divine origin*. The debasing doctrine of materialism has been exploded, as alike unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition⁶; for he who considers this earthly spot as the only theatre of his existence, and its grave, instead of his first stage in progressive being, can never view nature with a cheerful, or man with a benevolent eye.

16. An attempt has lately been made, by a learned divine, to give to this doctrine a new complexion; but his opinions are too whimsical ever to be generally received.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

A
ADLUM John
 Adams Francis
 Ainger Edward
 Alburtis John
 Allen William O.
 Allen James

Alexander William
 Allston John
 Ambler John
 Andrews Robert
 Anderson William
 Anderson James

Annely William
 Ashton Lawrence
 Ashe John
 Auston Edward
 Auld Isaac

B

Bailey Robert
 Bailey Henry
 Baynes Joseph Noble
 Bayd Samuel
 Bankes James Bowie
 Barnes John
 Barbour Gabriel
 Bayly Samuel
 Bayly Thomas
 Bayly Josiah
 Bankhead John
 Bankhead James
 Ball George
 Ball William
 Baker Samuel
 Barton William
 Batson Ken.
 Baron Alexander
 Baker Thomas
 Baker John
 Balmain Alexander
 Baldwin Cornelius
 Beanes William
 Beanes William B.
 Beanes Colmore
 Berry Jeremiah
 Belt Robert B.
 Belsches James
 Berkeley Carter B.

Beale Norborne B.
 Beverley Carter
 Bee Thomas
 Bee John Simmons
 Berg C.
 Bines Maxwell
 Biscoe George
 Blakistone Thomas
 Blake James H.
 Blake Benjamin
 Blackburn Thomas
 Blackwell Joseph
 Blackwell John, jun.
 Blackwell John
 Blundell James
 Bowie John F.
 Bowie Robert
 Bowie Thomas Contee
 Botts Benjamin
 Bordley W. H.
 Bootes P.
 Boyd Elisha
 Boys William
 Brent Jacob
 Brent William
 Brookes John Smith
 Brookes Clement
 Brashears Richard W.
 Brogdon William

Bruce William
 Brockenbrough W.
 Bracken John
 Brooke M. W.
 Brown William
 Brown William
 Brown John
 Brown John
 Brooke Francis
 Brooke E.
 Brent Thomas
 Bryan Samuel
 Bradley Stephen
 Brush J. C.
 Broome James
 Brandt John W.
 Brotherton J. jun.
 Bramham James W.
 Butler W. M.
 Buchanan Thomas
 Burke Thomas
 Burns Charles
 Bullitt T. J.
 Burneston William
 Bulkley Stephen
 Bucher Jacob
 Bush Henry.

C

Carroll Daniel
 Carroll Henry H.
 Carroll, Charles of Carrollton
 Calvert Edward Henry
 Campbell John
 Campbell J.
 Campbell Levin H.

Campbell Patrick
 Calder James
 Cary Wilson Miles
 Carter Landon
 Carter Robert
 Cassat David
 Calhoun T. E.
 Carmichael William

Carson James
 Cape Brian
 Caldwell Joseph
 Carr John
 Chapman Henry II
 Chapman R.
 Chapman S.
 Chase Jeremiah T.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

Chabot Joseph	Clarke Robert	Coster Henry
Cheminant Edward	Clifford Obadiah	Cox Josiah
Chilton Thomas	Clinton De Witt	Cox T. Campbell
Chilton William	Clement William	Corse Barney
Chambers Benjamin	Clopper Nicholas	Cogdell John S.
Cheves Langdon	Cooke John	Cochran Patrick
Chambers James	Cooke Stephen	Coalter John
Chipley James	Cohagan John	Craufurd David
Christian Edward	Cole John B.	Cramphin Richard
Claggett Thomas John	Contee Alexander	Crane Joseph
Claggett Henry	Collins Christopher J.	Croft Edward
Clements F. T.	Coverly Peter	Cune John
Clarke A. S.	Cooper Thomas	Culbertson Samuel W.
Clarke John Harrison	Collman John	

D

Daingerfield John	Denny Peter	Duckett Jacob
Dale R. C.	Denny D.	Duckett Allen B.
Dalton James	Dishman James D.	Duckett R.
Dandridge Adam	Dickinson Samuel	Duvall Lewis
Darnall Robert	Dickinson John F.	Duvall John
Darrach Timothy C.	Diemer James	Dunbar Robert
Dashiell Benjamin Frederic Augustus Caesar	Dixon John	Dunbar Robert
Dawson William	Dowling Daniel	Dunn Henry, jun.
Dawson John, jun.	Done William	Durden Henry
Davison William	Done John	Duff Thomas, Jun.
Dees Robert	Downes P.	Duffy Henry
Dent T. I.	Drayton William	Dunlop Andrew
	Duckett John B.	Dyson John.

E

Earle R. S.	Edmondson James	Evans James
Edmonds John	Edmondson John	Evans Charles.
Edmonds John, jun.		

F

Ferrall John O.	Fleming Joshua	Franklin Isaac
Field Grandison	Fleming John	Frazier Charles
Field Charles	Fletcher Thomas C.	Frisby Richard
Fitzhugh Thomas	Ford John Edward	Fryatt John
Fishburne William	Fox T. B.	Furman Wood.
Floyd George R. C.	Foote R. H.	

G

Gassaway John	Gibson William	Gow Andrew
Galb I. Minson	Gibbons Laurence	Green W. S.
Garrard Henry	Gibbons William	Gray John
Gauff William S.	Gish John E.	Grymes Philip
Gaillard Theodore, jun.	Gibbes Robert R.	Grymes Philip, jun.
Gauther Ephraim	Glover Wilson	Griffin Thomas
Gambill H. I.	Gloninger John	Greenhow Robert
Gantt Edward	Goosley William	Griggs Isaac
Geddy John C.	Goldsborough Howes	Griggs Thomas
Geyer I. W.	Goldsborough John	Gray Robert
Ghiselin Reverdy	Goldsborough R. H.	Gunby John
Giles W. B.	Gould Samuel	Gustine Joel T.
Gibson John	Gould William	Gwinn John.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

H

Harding William	Hammond Thomas	Howard Henry
Harwood Richard	Hall D. A.	Hollingsworth William
Harwood R. H.	Harrington D.	Hoskins John, jun.
Harris Thomas, jun.	Hay John	Horner G. B.
Harris William P.	Henderson Alexander	Horne, William
Harris Jacob P.	Hening Robert	Horsey O.
Halyburton William	Hening James C.	Houston James
Harrison John P.	Hening John	Holbrook Samuel
Harrison Thomas	Hening William W.	House Samuel
Harrison Peachy	Henry Richard	Horibeek John
Hazzard William	Higdon B. D.	Holmes Hugh
Handy John C.	Hill William	Hunter Thomas
Handy Thomas W.	Hill William	Hughes John
Handy George	Hipkins John	Huger John
Hamilton Thomas	Hicks Denwood	Hubley Frederic
Hamilton James	Hodges John of Thomas	
Hammond Nicholas	Hodges Benjamin	

J

Jacob Thomas	Johnson R.	Jones Edward
Jackson George	Johnson S. T.	Jones Matthew
Jameson John	Johnson Laben	Jones Thomas
Jennings Thomas	Johnston Charles	Jones Roger A.
Johnson John	Jones William	Jones Joseph H.
Johnston Richard	Jones R. J.	Jouitt Charles.
Johnson C.	Jones Thomas	Jott Peter J.

K

Keith Isaac S.	Key John Ross	Kirkland Joseph
Keith Thomas	King John	Kinney Chesley
Ker Samuel	King Robert I.	Kinney Jacob
Keddell Charles	King Jesse	Knox Samuel
Keene John	Kirr I. L.	Koontz John

L

Lansdale Thomas	Lincoln Levy	Lowndes James
Lafar Peter X.	Linton John	Long Armistead
Lamb Moses	Livingstone William	Lowber Daniel
Lane James S.	Littlejohn William	Lowes Tubman
Lewis Joseph, jun.	Lightfoot F.	Lockwood Joseph, jun.
Leslie George	Lindsey William	Love C. I.
Leigh B. W.	Lining Charles	Low William, jun.
Lesesue Thomas	Library at Front-Royal	Lynch Edward
Leeper William	Lowndes Richard S.	
Lea Daniel	Lowndes Benjamin	

M

Marple Abel	Madison James	M'Carty Daniel
Marshall William	Maupin Richard A.	M'Cormick A.
Marshall Richard	Martin William B.	M'Doughall Daniel
Marshall Charles	Martin Ennals	M'Gill Robert
Marshall John P.	Macauley Daniel	M'Allister James
Magruder John R. jun.	Maclay William	M'Lean James
Magruder Alexander C.	Magill C.	M'Kelvey William P.
Mackubin James	Magill Archibald	M'Guire William
Madison James, jun.	Macky Robert	M'Dowell William

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

McDowell Robert
 M'Arthur James
 Mercer John F.
 Mitchell Absolom
 Mitchell Alexander
 Mitchell James
 Miller Thomas
 Michan Joel jun.
 Minch Thomas
 Morsell William S.

Moore Thomas
 Moore E.
 Mosby Wade
 Moon Christopher
 Moody Philip
 Moody John
 Moutrie
 Morris Lewis
 Morriss Robert
 Morrau John

Moffett James
 Mundell Thomas
 Mundell John
 Muir John
 Muse Lawrence
 Muse Joseph E.
 Murdaugh I. W.
 Murdock George

N

Nadenbruch Philip
 Nevin David
 Nelson Philip
 Nelson Robert, jun.

Nelson Thomas
 Nelson Thomas Cary
 Nicols Robert Lloyd
 Nicols Samuel

Nichols Francis
 Norris Thaddeus
 Norris Richard

O

O'Neil Charles

Oswald William

Overton Samuel

P

Partreage John
 Payne William
 Pawling Levi
 Patterson Thomas
 Pendleton Edmund, jun.
 Pendleton Philip D.
 Perry Stobo
 Peyton J.
 Peyton Henry James

Pinkney Jonathan
 Pinkney Ninian
 Pickett George B.
 Pickett Charles
 Pindell Richard
 Poole Edward
 Ponsonby Richard
 Postell William
 Potts Joseph, jun.

Portly John
 Preston John, jun.
 Prentis Joseph
 Prideaux Joshua
 Pringle J. J.
 Price T. D.
 Purnell Thomas M.
 Purnell Zadok
 Purnell Lemuel

Q

Quinton Philip

R

Ratcliffe Richard
 Ranson M.
 Reigart Adam
 Reed George
 Rees Jacob
 Ridgeb Richard
 Ridout Samuel
 Ritchie Archibald
 Ritchie William
 Richards William

Richardson
 Riddle Samuel
 Riddle William
 Riehey Jeremiah H.
 Rogerson Thomas
 Rose Henry
 Robinson William
 Robinson William
 Robb Robert G.
 Roane Samuel

Roane Thomas, jun.
 Rogers William A.
 Ross William, jun.
 Rowland Joseph G.
 Round Edward H.
 Robertson George
 Roach William
 Roper B. D.
 Ryan James

S

Sackrider D. W.
 Seadford William
 Sanderson Alexander
 Scott John
 Scott C. R.
 Sample James
 Scarborough Benjamin
 Selden Wilson Carey
 Shackelford N.
 Shippen John
 Snyock John

Shepherd Abraham
 Shepherd William
 Shackelfield Benjamin
 Sims Thomas
 Singellton John
 Simon James
 Smith Augustus
 Smith John P.
 Smith Augustine
 Smith John A.
 Smith Thomas P.

Smith Peter
 Smith Frederick
 Smith Darnel
 Snyder G. W.
 *Sommerville William
 Sprigg R.
 Stewart John
 Stewart Alexander
 Stuart William
 Stuart Alexander
 Stuart Archibald

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

Sturman Foxhall
Steiner Jacob, jun.
Steele James

Stoever Frederic
St. Clair Alexander
Stevens Edward

Sulivane Daniel
Sulivane James B.
Swaine Francis

T

Taliaferro John
Taylor William
Taylor N.
Taylor John
Taylor William R.
Tazewell William
Tett Peter
Teackle L. D.

Tedball Jos.
Thomas Philip
Thomas John Hanson
Thomas T.
Thomas William
Thornton James R.
Thompson J. M^cKean
Thompson John

Thompson Garland
Tilghman Richard
Trueman Tyler
Tucker St. George
Turner Richard
Turner John
Tyler Charles, jun.

V

Van Horne Archibald
Vanderhorst A.

Verdier Paul

Vowel Thomas

W

Washington Lau. A.
Warring Henry, jun.
Walker Thomas W.
Ward Zacharia
Wagener Beverly R.
Wake John
Warfield Henry Ridgely
Waters W. G.
Waggaman Henry
Wathington William
Watts D.
Watson James
Watson Tubman
Warrell James
Waite Obed
Wayt John

Waterman Asher
West Stephen
West Richard W.
Weems John B.
Weems William
Whiting S. K.
Whiting Peter B.
White Joseph
White Robert
Whaley Thomas
Williams William B.
Williams John
Williams T. N.
Williams John C.
Williams S. M.
Withers Jesse

Williamson N. G.
Wilson John C.
Wilson Samuel
Wilson Denwood
Wilson Samuel
Willmott Benjamin
Witherspoon David
Wisemann Charles
Wigginton R. Y.
Willis R. C.
Wood James G.
Wood William
Worthington William
Wright Robert
Wright Samuel T.

Y

Yates John
Youngblood William

Young Robert

Young John

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